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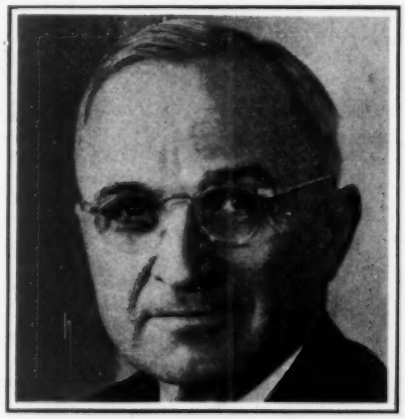

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Vol. 55, No. 10 Whole Number 454

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER—Norman Thomas, the perennial Socialist candidate for president, appraised the political parties and their candidates in an address delivered before the administrative council of the Mechanics Educational Society of America at Buffalo, N. Y., in September. We herewith excerpt a few paragraphs.

On Governor Dewey: "But he is too intelligent an opportunist to be hopelessly reactionary and it is an abuse of language to call him or his party Fascist. As a matter of fact, no Democratic governor in any state can point to anything like the FEPC law or the law against discrimination in education which Governor Dewey finally decided to put through his docile Legislature."

On President Truman: Let us give credit where credit is due. Mr. Truman is showing an admirable political courage. This graduate of the Pendergast school of pratical politics, who is still loyal to his alma mater, has acquired, partly from political necessity, a certain liberalism of intention. He has backed the report of his Civil Rights Commission even although he has not done the things he could have done with the power he already has to carry out its recommendations."

On Mr. Wallace: ". . . I should be tempted to overlook Mr. Wallace's past, excuse the imperfections of his domestic platform, and join the good people who are backing his effort to form a new party if the evidence did not clearly show that with his half unwilling compliance his party is dominated by the Communists who, as they have boasted, were its master builders, and has drawn up a foreign policy for America which might have been dictated by Stalin."

•

THE THREE ARTICLES appearing under the general title of "Who Should Be in the White House?" are solely the official opinions of the national committees of the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive parties. They in nowise reflect the views of this magazine or the NAACP.

Val J. Washington is assistant campaign manager of the Republican National Committee; Venice Tipton Spraggs is assistant director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee; and George B. Murphy, Jr., is assistant to the national campaign manager of the Progressive party.

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HENRY LEE MOON (who reviews *The Living is Easy* at page 308) is director of public relations, NAACP, and author of the recently published *Balance of Power*.

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COLLEGE and SCHOOL NEWS

Seventy-three teachers participated in the Connecticut workshop in human relations conducted at the DANBURY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE from June 28 through July 10 under the joint auspices of the state interracial commission and the state board of education. The director of the workshop was Dr. C. Francis Willey of the Williamantic State Teachers College faculty.

The purpose of these workshops is to assure for Connecticut school children better guidance in good human relations by bringing teachers up to date on new techniques for understanding and influencing human relations.

ALCORN A & M COLLEGE expects a very successful academic year for 1948-1949. One objective of the administration for the coming year is to see to it that the college does a better job of serving the people of Mississippi. The college already has a faculty institute designed to help Alcorn improve its educational program.

Commencement exercises of the summer session of the COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS (Wilberforce) were held on July 30, with Dr. Robert P. Daniel, president of Shaw university, as principal speaker. Twenty-eight graduates received degrees.

New additions to the college staff are Dr. Jean H. Walls, as professor of education; Dr. Gertrude Engel, as professor of German language and literature; and Arvella Payne, as associate professor of economics.

As a result of the findings of the conference of the "Light Building Construction Industry," held at the college July 23-24, the general chairman has been instructed to appoint a committee to take steps to make the conference a permanent affair: since conference findings indicated a definite need for younger men to enter the construction industry, an immediate need for thorough training, a need for greater coordination between schools and the building industry, and that small contractors are considering uniting their efforts.

New additions to the staff of TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY include Ozie H. Johnson, as administrator of the new law school; and Mrs. Constance E. H. Daniel, as administrative assistant to the president.

BECAUSE OF HIS *outstanding scholastic record,* **ROBERT DORSEY,** *a senior in mechanical engineering at Ohio State, was elected to Tau Beta Pi, the honorary society for all engineering students. He is also a charter member of Pi Tau Sigma, the mechanical engineering honorary society. Mr. Dorsey's home is in Houston, Texas.*

Mr. Johnson holds the degree of LL.B. from Temple university law school, Philadelphia, where he served as editor of the *Temple Law Quarterly.* He is a member of the District of Columbia and the Ohio bars and served for a while as field supervisor with the contract termination division of the U. S. Army Signal Corps in Washington and Philadelphia.

Mrs. Daniel, a well-known government publicist, has had fifteen years of experience as a member of the working press, as a public relations official, and as an information specialist and editor with the federal government.

Three obligations for educational leadership in the immediate future were cited by President Harry Richardson of Gammon Theological Seminary to the seventy-nine members of the graduation class at the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY summer convocation exercises

Delma

LUCIA EDMONDS, *senior beauty queen at the Washington Irving high school, New York City, when queried on her reaction to being elected beauty queen, modestly exclaimed: "My family and I are still recuperating from the shock." Miss Edmonds plans to major in psychology when she enters college.*

in August. The three obligations cited are (1) an increasing emphasis upon the formation of character among men and women, (2) the strengthening of home life, and (3) the furtherance of hope.

Of the degrees awarded, nineteen were master of arts, four master of science, eighteen master of social work, sixteen bachelor of science in library service, four master of arts in education, thirteen master of education, and five master of business administration.

Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, university librarian, and A. T. Walden, well-known Atlanta attorney, were speakers before the summer school forum in August. A display of art forms executed by members of the arts and crafts workshop of the summer school was a featured exhibit during the closing weeks of the summer session. Practically all the exhibitors were teachers in elementary schools throughout the South who had had little or no art background.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, sailed on the Queen Mary on August 14 for Amsterdam Holland to attend the First World Assembly of Churches held in that Dutch city August 22-September 5.

At the beginning of its fall term 1948-1949, the AMERICAN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY starts offering degrees in religious education. The de-

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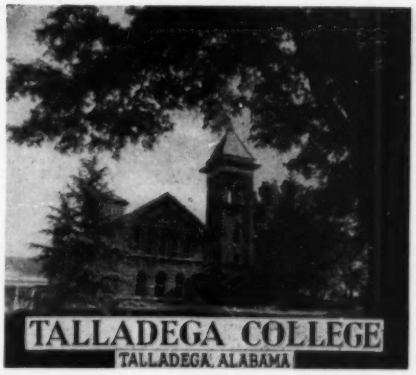

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WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE reports an enrollment of 1806 students for the school term 1947-48, with 152 graduates receiving either the A.B. or B.S. degrees. At the summer convocation of the college on August 20 baccalaureate degrees were conferred upon sixty-three candidates. Convocation speaker was Harry D. Hazlewood, retiring principal of the Douglass high school of Huntington, W. Va.

The art department of the college, under the direction of Elsie Mae Davis, held a summer exhibition of student work which began on August 12.

Opening of the first miners' encampment was held on September 5-6 under the auspices of the college at the Washington-Carver 4-H Camp, Clifftop, W. Va. Miners from all parts of the state attended and participated in workshops, demonstrations, and contests. Prizes totaling $1200 in cash and mining equipment were given away during the two-day period.

Construction on the new LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) library began in September. Planned to occupy 340,000 square feet east of Schweich hall on the upper campus, the building will be a two-story structure of brick, tile, and concrete, capable of housing about 90,000 volumes.

Forty-four students were awarded bachelor degrees from the college of arts and sciences and the school of journalism and law in an open-air convocation on August 5, with the address being delivered by Hubert Wheeler, state commissioner of education. Five hundred ninety-one students were enrolled in the summer session.

Winner of the 1948 Robert S. Abbott memorial scholarship in journalism at Lincoln is Otis N. Thompson, Jr., of Baltimore, Md. The school also registered its first Pepsi-Cola scholarship winner, seventeen-year-old Nina Mae

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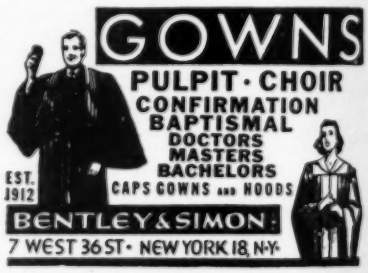

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Redd, this fall. Miss Redd, a graduate of Kimball high school, Kimball, W. Va., maintained a consistently high scholastic average during her high-school career. U. S. Maxwell, director of summer sessions and professor of chemistry, has been awarded a $575 grant-in-aid from the American Philosophical Society in order that he may continue his studies in basic metabolism.

GALLILEE SCHOOL, a simple one-room school near Jackson, Miss., has won the National Garden Institute rural school beautification contest. First prize was a Motorola radio-phonograph; second, a set of the *Junior Encyclopedia Britannica;* and third, a large American flag.

Commencement address at the SHAW UNIVERSITY summer school was delivered on August 17 by William A. Fountain, Jr., president of Morris Brown. Bachelor degrees were awarded to sixty-one candidates, bringing the total of degrees awarded during the academic year to 158. The summer session graduating class made a gift of $112.50 to Shaw for the purpose of erecting a new "Shaw University" sign on the front campus.

ROUND TABLE *at Wilberforce State discusses religious influence on ways of life; Dr. Ralph Templin, Rev. Birney Smith, Jr., Dr. Gilbert Jones, and, standing, Rev. A. Chandler Crawford.*

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The six-week study session for ministers, which offered courses in English, Bible survey, preparation for sermons, and Christian responsibility in race relations, closed in August, after being attended by more than thirty ministers. Instructors for the courses were Rev. Moses DeLaney, Rev. Samuel F. Daly, Rev. Charles R. McCreary, and Dean Foster P. Payne. Special lecturers were Dean W. R. Strassner, of the Shaw school of religion; Cyrus M. Johnson, director of the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation; Rev. Henry C. Ruark, of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen; and Rev. Samuel B. Sankoh, of Sierra Leone, Africa, and at present a theological student at Shaw.

Annual conference of college and public school personnel as well as community workers, was held at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, August 9-14. Sponsored by the college, the state department of education, and the Virginia advisory committee on schools and colleges, the conference considered the following five major topics: Improving teacher education; spiritual values in education; improved human relations through community citizenship; improving school and college relations; and health and physical education.

Among the conference consultants were G. Tyler Miller, state department of education; J. L. Blair Buck, director of teacher education, state department of education; Woodrow Wilkerson, state department of education; Raymond Pinchbeck, dean, University of Richmond; H. T. Penn, member Roanoke school board; J. Worth Peters; J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary, Virginia Teachers Association; and R. J. Valentine, Petersburg attorney.

Forty-three members of the ROTC received trophies after six weeks of summer training at Camp Lee, Va.

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ROTC

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Editorials

TALMADGE VICTORY

WE do not believe Negroes should be discouraged or embittered by the victory of Herman Talmadge in Georgia on a "white supremacy" ticket. He will be governor of one of the states of the union for the next two years. Negroes have lived through worse than he will hand out and they will be living and moving forward long after he is gone, even as the Negroes in Mississippi survived John Sharp Williams and Vardaman, and the Negroes of South Carolina Cole Blease.

Indeed, the Talmadge victory in 1948 may be interpreted as a tribute to the progress Negro Americans have made and the status they have won for themselves as citizens. Talmadge and his kind had better grab and enjoy what they can and do it quickly, for time is running out for them. The white supremacy myth has been exploded. The Negroes of Georgia are laughing at Herman and his gang even though they realize that for a time, they may be forced to accept distasteful conditions.

Spiritually the Talmadges throughout the South are licked. Similarly, the white supremacists throughout the world are desparately on the defensive. In many areas they exercise *control,* but they do not demonstrate thereby *innate superiority.* It is this myth which has been the backbone of racial persecution and exploitation. The myth is dead, and the Talmadge campaign was but another marker on its grave.

STUPID AND FUTILE MURDER

THE murder of Isaiah Nixon, 28, the father of six children, by a white man in Alston, Ga., because Nixon insisted on voting in the Georgia primary election last month was not only brutal, but stupid and futile.

Nixon was shot down in his own home before his wife and children. He had gone earlier in the day to the polling place and had been told that he had the right to vote, but that whites did not advise him to exercise that right. Nixon cast his ballot and went about his business. That night two brothers came to his house and one killed him.

In a refreshing variation on the usual pattern in such cases, the sheriff issued first news of the crime to the press, arrested one of the brothers promptly as an accomplice, and within 24 hours had the second brother jailed on a murder charge. It remains to be seen whether justice will be done under the incoming Talmadge machine. But it is a certainty the cold-blooded killing of Nixon will not stop Negroes from voting in Georgia.

WALLACE'S SOUTHERN TOUR

CERTAIN aspects of the plight of the Negro were dramatized boldly by the experiences of Henry Wallace on his early September tour of some southern states, but it is safe to assert that the maximum benefit in constructive and corrective propaganda was not obtained because Wallace is engaged in a political campaign which, admittedly, is not expected to win the White House for the Progressive party candidate.

With little or nothing to lose by campaigning against inequality and segregation, Wallace's zeal and sincerity were discounted (unfairly, perhaps) by a vast section of the public. But the silliness, if not the viciousness, of segregation was exposed by ropes being solemnly erected between two groups of citizens of a town standing at an outdoor meeting—citizens whose white and black parents and grandparents had grown up in the town and had helped build it. Fanaticism and hatred were laid bare, but often it was difficult to determine whether Negro equality or Communist support of Wallace was responsible.

But no new information was uncovered. No new techniques were demonstrated for coping with the problem. The frontal attack on segregation is not new. The NAACP held unsegregated conventions and mass meetings in Oklahoma City, Okla., in 1934, Richmond, Va., in 1939, in Houston, Tex., in 1941, and an unsegregated Youth Conference in Houston in 1947. Ten years ago Mrs. Roosevelt refused to sit in a section reserved for white people at a meeting in Birmingham, Ala.

But the Wallace tour did point up once more the courage of President Truman in risking his chances of re-election upon the advocacy of full civil rights for Negro Americans. The formation of the Dixiecrat party and its bitter attacks upon the President indicate that Truman's pronouncements on civil rights are regarded as something more than barnstorming slogans.

IRA F. LEWIS

THE death of Ira F. Lewis, president of the *Pittsburgh Courier,* removed a dynamic figure from Negro journalism. Lewis and Robert L. Vann, who died some years ago, built the *Courier* into the No. 1 Negro weekly paper of the nation. Lewis had imagination and daring. He was not afraid of new ideas, so that his paper was fresh and interesting at all times. He was a fighter, not an appeaser, so that his paper was always in the forefront of the battle for the rights of its people. He was not content to be merely a Negro publisher narrowly interested in Negro rights, but he was an American who worked to make America realize its destiny as the land of democracy and opportunity for men of all races. Of many men it is written lightly and automatically that they contributed to their age, but with Lewis the writing is superfluous. For all to see, the *Courier* stands as a monument to the Vann-Lewis team that helped to mold an era.

ARMY JIM CROW

THE formal report of the group which conferred last April 26 on armed services racial policies at the invitation of James V. Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, has just been submitted to Mr. Forrestal by Lester B. Granger, chairman of the conferees.

The report reiterates the firm stand of the group against segregation in any of the services. The April 26 meeting was unique in race relations conferences in that the sentiment of the members was unanimous and uncompromising. There were no weasel words last spring and there are none in the formal report. The abolition of segregation is demanded. The Navy is commended for its efforts to establish such a policy, with suggestions as to how it can speed the process. The Army and the Marine corps are condemned for stubborn insistence on jim crow. The Air arm is urged to adopt a new policy, now that it is free of the Army.

A small but important step toward improvement has been taken by the Army in its announcement that Negro troops will not be trained in camps in the Deep South. There are rumors of an unsegregated policy at Ft. Dix, N. J. All well and good, but there must be no let-up in the campaign until segregation as a policy has been abolished, and definite, discernible steps toward executing such a policy have been taken.

WHO SHOULD BE IN

Governor Dewey

By Valores J. Washington

THOSE of us who support the Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey for president take pride in our position and look with suspicion upon those who support Harry S. Truman.

The Republican party as against the Democrats, so long as the acts of the two are adjudged on an honest and impartial basis, is far in the lead as to actual performance. We will, therefore, deal with the three phases of this campaign on a comparative basis. First, the Republican party record vs. that of the Democrats; two, platform pronouncements of the Republican convention vs. those of the Democrats; and, three, Dewey's personal record vs. Truman's.

First, the Republican party has sought to preserve civil rights in accord with the Constitution of the United States, the Bill of Rights, and the three great Civil War amendments: the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth. It has believed that the basis of freedom is equal treatment for all.

Since the Democratic party has been in control of our government for the last sixteen years, it is necessary for us to refer back a bit for the contributions of the Republican party to the advancement of colored Americans. It was President Lincoln who by executive order issued the Emancipation Proclamation which unshackled us. It has its place among the great documents of freedom on the Freedom Train of the American Heritage Foundation. All doubts as to authority for its issuance become unimportant with the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment prohibiting involuntary servitude. This Amendment is our protection against peonage today.

The Fourteenth Amendment gave us citizenship status. The Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed us the right to vote. These Amendments are contributions of the Republican party. Negro leaders and organizations like the NAACP use these Amendments in the courts to secure for us that equality of treatment we have not been able to have spelled out in legislation because of the filibustering of the Democrats. Through the years the Republicans have introduced and fought for the passage of anti-lynching, anti-poll-tax and other bills seeking to eradicate discrimination. The first fair employment practice bill to get out of a subcommittee was the one sponsored by a Republican, Senator Ives of New York, in the last session of Congress.

While the Democrats have thwarted Republican efforts to implement the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth

(*Continued on page 316*)

President Truman

By Venice Tipton Spraggs

MILLIONS of little people all over America are watching the build-up for the coming November 2 presidential election with considerable concern.

For 14 million Negro Americans—by and large—the major campaign issue is civil rights. All Americans of whatever race, creed, color or land of origin are deeply disturbed over the inflationary cost of living. Many of them are worried as to how much longer they can make ends meet at the present level of earning and spending.

There is little doubt that the election will turn largely on two issues—civil rights and the cost of living.

The fight by Negro Americans to achieve the goals of freedom and equality so eloquently set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States has been given its strongest and most far-reaching undergirding in the 86 years since emancipation by President Truman's unequivocal stand on civil rights.

Although, in campaign after campaign, for several years, both parties in their platforms have made some general reference to civil rights, there is no evidence that any real, forthright effort was ever put forth by either party prior to that of President Truman to translate party promises into positive action.

When the President appointed his Civil Rights Committee he ventured forth into the heretofore untrammeled area of a highly explosive issue. Mr. Truman knew that.

In releasing the Committee's report; in sending his own recommendations for a civil rights program to the Republican-controlled 80th Congress; and finally by issuing his two Executive Orders to end racial discrimination in federal employment and in the armed services of the United States, Mr. Truman made the Constitutionally-guaranteed-rights of all American citizens the most dramatic issue in the history of the United States, not excepting the issue of slavery and Abraham Lincoln's subsequent Emancipation Proclamation.

The President's challenging civil rights program, and his refusal to backtrack one single step on any of its provisions gave new meaning to the Negro's fight to gain full citizenship rights. For the first time in more than three-quarters of a century, these rights are closer within his reach than perhaps at any time in history. This the Negro knows.

There are those who claim the

THE WHITE HOUSE?

President's civil rights program had its genesis in politics. Perhaps so. By this yardstick, the Declaration of Independence was politics. The Emancipation Proclamation was politics. In fact, anything which has happened in organized society has some political connotation. Politics is an essential and permanent function in a democracy, which fulfills a part of man's essential need as a social being and as a part of God's creation.

It seems clear, however, that personal political gain was not the motivating factor which prompted President Truman to speak out for the rights of minorities. Many Americans feel that by so doing he cut his political throat.

The President sounded the opening guns in his civil rights fight at the 38th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on June 29, 1947, fully one year and four months before the national elections.

Speaking at the Lincoln Memorial, in the very shadow of the great Emancipator, whose own Republican party has to date failed to deliver on his promises of freedom for the politically, economically and spiritually enslaved millions of Negro Americans, Mr. Truman declared:

"It is my deep conviction that we have reached a turning point in the long history of our country's efforts to guarantee freedom and equality to all our citizens. The recent events in the United States and abroad have made us realize that it is more important today than ever before to insure that all Americans enjoy these rights."

He added: "When I say all Americans—I mean all Americans."

The President later in the same speech made another forthright statement. He said:

"As Americans we believe that every man should be free to live his life as he wishes. He should be limited only by his responsibility to his fellow countrymen. If this freedom is to be more than a dream, each man must be guaranteed equality of opportunity. The only limit to an American's achievement should be his ability, his

(Continued on page 313)

Henry Wallace

By George B. Murphy, Jr.

THE new Progressive Party and the Negro people are partners. Like the partnership the Negro people had with Abe Lincoln in 1863. Like the partnership that won the Civil War and saved the nation. Like the partnership that lasted until Lincoln dropped out of it with a bigot's bullet in the back of his head.

It lasted until Lincoln's party of Republicans knifed his program and made a deal with Dixie Democrats and the Ku-Klux-Klan to bar Negroes from the ballot in the South. That deal has stuck for nearly a hundred years.

But this year the New Progressive party led by Henry A. Wallace, the Tom Paine of our time, is breaking up that deal. The New Party begins where Old Abe left off. It begins in 1948 with the largest number of Negro candidates, more than forty-five of them, ever picked to run on a single ticket since the days of Thaddeus Stevens. It begins in President Harry S. Truman's own jim-crow birth-state of Missouri where 28-year-old Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson is running for Congress with a better than fifty-fifty chance of becoming the first Negro Congresswoman in United States history. Not even during the Negro people's partnership with Old Abe did a Negro woman run for Congress.

Mrs. Bush is in partnership with the New Progressive party.

It begins in Connecticut, where Mrs. Paul Robeson is running for secretary of state on the Progressive party ticket. Mrs. Robeson is carrying forward the tradition of her grandfather, Mr. Cardozo, who was elected treasurer of the state of South Carolina during the Reconstruction period.

It begins in Philadelphia, the "City of Brotherly Love" and of anti-Negro riots, where the Republican-Democratic party has for centuries beat down the demands of the Negro people for political representation.

It begins there with the running for Congress of able Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey—on the Progressive party ticket. Magistrate Rainey is carrying on in the tradition of his grandfather, who came from South Carolina, the first Negro to take his seat as a United States representative in the Reconstruction Congress that Harry Truman called "the worst" in our history.

Rainey, an ex-Democratic party leader, is conceded the best chance of becoming his state's first Negro congressman.

The Negro-Progressive party partnership gets thicker in Dixie.

It begins in Talmadge-terrorized Georgia where an unholy team-up of the Ku-Klux-Klan and the straight Democratic party has shot and killed, run out of town, or intimidated any Negro who dared to represent his people since the end of Reconstruction days.

It begins there with the running of fearless Larkin Marshall, editor of the Macon, Georgia, *World* for United States senator from Georgia.

Marshall, the first Negro in modern times to run for senator anywhere in the United States, is a partner of the Progressive party.

It begins in Texas, where the Rev. Stacey Adams is running for lieutenant governor on the Progressive party ticket.

It begins in North Carolina, where the Rev. William Brown, the second Negro in modern times to run for United States senator anywhere in the country, is a partner in the Progressive party.

It begins in Indiana, the Northern headquarters of the Ku-Klux-Klan, where Willard Ransom is running for Congress on the Progressive party ticket.

It begins in Kentucky where Alfred Carroll, who is running for Congress, is also a partner in the Progressive party.

It goes on in the late unlamented Senator Bilbo's private backyard, Mississippi, in Louisiana, in states west, North, east and south wherever the American dream of real democracy is burning among Negroes and whites

(Continued on page 315)

Notes on the Taft-Hartley Act

By Clarence Mitchell

IN 1932 William Branson felt pretty good when he walked out of the office of the chemical company with a verbal promise that, because he had lost two fingers from his left hand in an accident on the job, he could count on working there for the rest of his life. He was only forty at the time and his big shoulders would have shaken with the force of his hearty laugh if anyone had told him that fifteen years later Senator Robert A. Taft and Congressman Fred A. Hartley, Jr., men he had never heard of, would sponsor a law which in 1947 would make it possible for the company to fire him for doing his duty as a union shop steward. Yet that is exactly what happened. At fifty-five, minus two fingers, big Bill Branson picks up odd jobs to help earn his share of the family expenses.

Branson is a flesh and blood man. That is not his real name but the facts of his case are in the files of the NAACP labor department. On the day he was fired from the job, he protested to company officials because non-union white men were being used on the jobs which, under the contract between management and union, belonged to both colored and white union members.

The dismissal of Bill Branson was a company triumph. Its management had long resented the growth of the local representing its employees under the Wagner Act. Most of the members are colored and many of them cannot read or write. Branson, with courage and natural leadership, was the chief target of management's dislike for the union. It is highly possible that under the Wagner Act management would not have attempted to fire him. Even if he had been dismissed, however, there would have been an excellent chance for his reinstatement under the old law. Now his union cannot use the machinery of the National Labor Relations Board because, although its leaders fall in what is called the right wing labor group, they refuse to sign non-communist affidavits as required by the Taft-Hartley Act.

This writer cites instances to show that the Taft-Hartley act does not always protect the individual worker, especially if that worker belongs to a minority group

Purpose of Law

The sponsors of the new law, which officially bears the innocent title of "Labor-Management Relations Act," have frequently said that it was designed to give greater protection to individual workers. Bill Branson would undoubtedly feel a strong urge to punch somebody in the nose if he heard this because, when the NAACP assisted him in filing his complaint with the board, there were months of delay before it was investigated. Thereafter, he was asked whether he would withdraw it and when he did not do so it was tossed out by the regional office of the NLRB. An appeal was made to Robert N. Denham, the NLRB general counsel, who said that there was an extensive file on the case showing that Branson did not have a complaint under the law. However, the general counsel's office has never revealed just what the evidence did show. Under the Taft-Hartley Act, Denham's word is final in cases of this kind. Prior to the passage of the new legislation, it could have been argued out before the board with both sides having a fair chance to state their case. Now, the general counsel can arbitrarily shut off action without bothering to explain why he believes a case has no merit.

Branson does not fully understand how an act of congress transformed him from a useful worker into a man without a steady job. He no longer attends union meetings and those persons who formerly looked to him for leadership are fearful of what managemen will do to them if they "get out of line." For example, when one employee began circulating a petition urging that Branson be reinstated, some officials of the union halted it by saying that they could not offer protection to anyone who signed it.

When Branson's wife, who works in the garment industry, was asked to help organize her fellow employees she declined to do so. As the chief wage earner since her husband lost his job, she felt that she could not afford to take a chance.

This is a terrible part of the toll taken by the Taft-Hartley law. By choking off remedies and making unions more vulnerable to attacks by employers, it has killed the enthusiasm which some people formerly had for organizing and participating in the affairs of trade unions. Of course the stalwarts have continued to fight, but in a free nation it should not be necessary for a man to have courage in order to be an active member of a union—no more than it is required that he be brave in order to read whatever newspaper he chooses, or vote according to his convictions in an election.

When the legislation which resulted in the Taft-Hartley law was being considered by Congress, the NAACP testimony before the Senate labor committee pointed out that its passage would adversely effect the organizing drives of the AFL and CIO in the South where colored workers would gain much by collective bargaining.

Apparently, this is exactly what the framers of the law intended it to do. Some inkling of how these members of Congress feel on racial matters may be gotten by reading the majority report of the joint committee on labor management relations headed by Senator Joseph A. Ball of Minnesota. This committee was established by the Taft-Hartley Act to keep an eye on how the law is working out. Of course Messrs. Taft and Hartley are key members, the latter being vice-chairman.

Typical Report

In discussing labor relations at the R. J. Reynolds Company in Winston

Salem, North Carolina, the report states:

"The skill and dexterity of colored workers were peculiarly suited to the processing of hand made plugs of chewing tobacco and to filling cotton 'pokes' with finely shredded smoking tobacco. *The tempo of the work was leisurely and unhurried* . . . With the introduction of cigarette making came a great increase in the number of white workers. They were engaged to operate the machines and *to supply the higher skill* that was deemed requisite to machine production of cigarettes."

The writers of the report evidently had had considerable experience in preparing minstrel show scripts for in discussing the type of grievances filed by employees, the following was stated:

"The grievances run the whole gamut of foibles, frailties, eccentricities, and superstitions. They may cover the complaint that 'there's a black cat running around our workroom,' or that one worker is 'hoaxing and jinxing' another worker.

"One of the frequent grievances confronting the company concerns employees who walked off the job without warning, and after a week or two of unexplained absence were severed from the pay roll. In demanding reinstatement through the union, the severed worker may say he went to 'visit his folks' in South Carolina or Georgia, and couldn't get back because 'his car broke down,' or 'the train didn't run.' Sometimes the explanation is 'the police picked him up.' In another instance, 'his wife beat him up.' "

The report also took several cracks at the union for working to get a colored man elected to the city council and "organizing the Negro population for political action along lines that are frictional and hostile in relation to the white population of the city." Of course, the union's answers to these management inspired comments do not appear in the publication.

Four members of the committee, Senators Claude Pepper, James E. Murray, and Congressmen John Lesinski, and Augustine B. Kelly, objected to the report stating that it "indicates an anti-Negro bias and a lack of sympathy for the union's point of view."

In their dissent, the minority also stated that:

"Labor organizations report that since the passage of the Labor Management Relations Act, the process of organizing has become increasingly difficult, particularly in the South, because of employer resistance."

At the national conference of the NAACP in 1947, a distinguished lawyer who works extensively in the field of labor relations remarked that the Taft-Hartley Act would be a great money maker for lawyers. He foresaw numerous court battles, particularly on the matter of injunctions against labor unions. It is interesting to note that during the first six months of the operation of the Act the NLRB reported 13 petitions for injunctions filed by its regional directors. Of these twelve were against unions.

Not only does the Act offer rosy prospects for the legal profesion, but it offers wonderful opportunities for some politicians to spread confusion and get their names in the newspapers.

Washington Cafeteria Workers

In Washington, colored cafeteria workers have always had to struggle for recognition and bargaining rights. Nearly a thousand of them spent twelve weeks on the picket lines last winter because lawyers and congressmen were having a field day misinterpreting the requirements of the law.

The company for which these people worked refused to negotiate a new contract with them because their international leaders had not complied with what management said was the law. The Secretary of Labor, Lewis B. Schwellenbach, who, in addition to being a former federal judge, also had a deep sense of social justice, attempted to break the stalemate between management and labor. As soon as it appeared that management would have to yield and bargain with the union, Congressman Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan, a somewhat less imaginative northern version of Mississippi's Rankin, jumped into the fray. As chairman of a "special subcommittee" of the House labor committee, Mr. Hoffman regaled the public with an extensive harangue on the reason why management was right under the law. He also made spirited attacks on the Department of Labor for trying to promote a settlement. Under the stimulating glare of camera flash bulbs, the committee's record grew fatter and fatter while the colored employees grew thinner and thinner from missing meals and walking picket lines. Finally, the union gave in and met management's terms. Thereupon management insisted that it should have an election to determine whether the employees still wanted the union to represent them. Under management's plan, hundreds of strike breakers who had been hired during the stoppage would also be eligible to vote. Since the union would obviously demand reinstatement of employees who had been replaced by strike breakers, one did not need a crystal ball to see which way the people on the job would vote.

Although it was clear that management was out to break the union at the outset, this detail became lost in the ensuing legal scuffle. As usual the wage earners with babies to feed and rent to pay suffered most. What is worse, a number of persons became embroiled in fist fights during the picketing and were subsequently sent to jail. Without condoning the actions of persons who resort to violence in labor disputes, one cannot forget that the employees were at best striking puny blows against people like themselves who were chiefly interested in making a living for their families. Management, on the other hand, was fighting both with the deadly weapon forged by Congress in the form of the Taft-Hartley law. Management knew that, once it had discredited and destroyed the union, it could thereafter leisurely separate from its payrolls any strike breakers or former union members indiscreet enough to ask for pay raises or better working conditions.

Shortly after the Taft-Hartley law was passed, a few people began saying that it had a little FEPC in it. Perhaps it would have been more accurate for them to say a microscopic FEPC or maybe even an invisible FEPC, because as yet this phase of the law has not been found nor has it revealed itself. There is no instance in which a single colored person has been able to keep or get a job because of the Taft-Hartley Act. On the other hand, numerous instances have arisen in which unions which exclude colored people have won bargaining rights or used the law to harass unions which do not admit them. In other cases, employers have seized upon the race issue to weaken the organizing of workers.

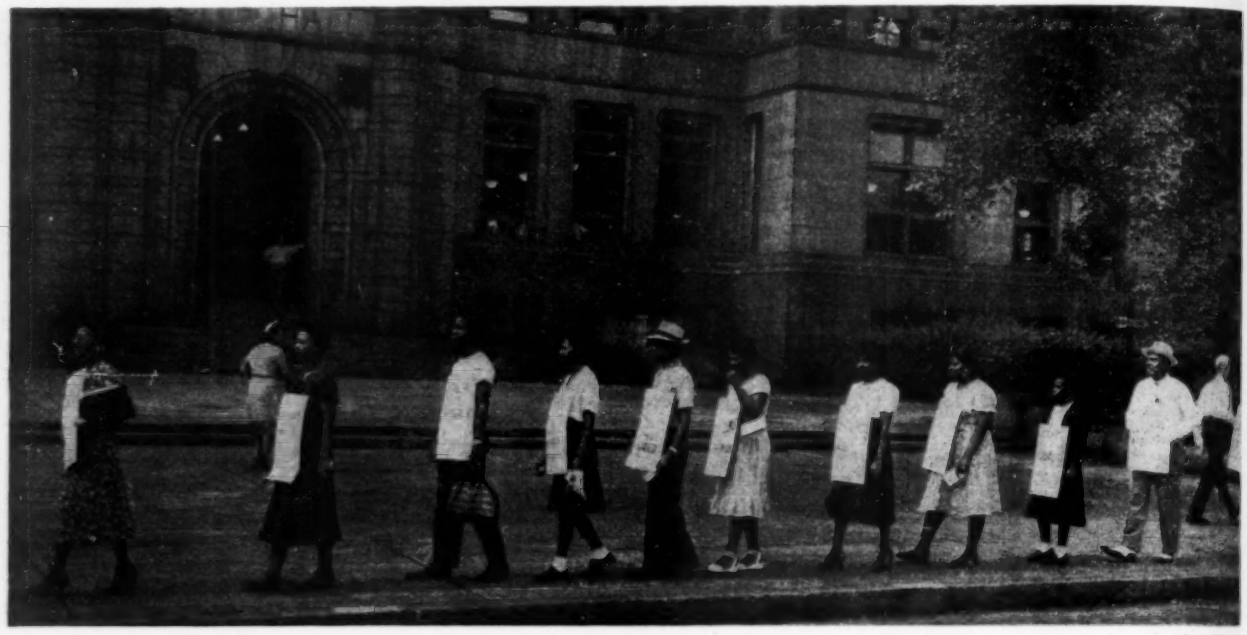
AFL vs. CIO

In an Ohio steel plant, it was found that the law was made to order for a craft union which was seeking to oust an industrial union because the latter group, under the terms of its contract, had insisted that some colored members, who were also veterans, should be upgraded to jobs for which they were qualified. Some white employees staged a protest strike against the promotion of the colored employees, but it was unsuccessful.

The disgruntled white employees then asked that a craft union be allowed to represent them. Although the national policy of the craft union was against discrimination because of race, it was clear that those seeking to bring it into the plant intended to do so as a means of keeping their department all white. After extensive hearings and other legal maneuvers, the advocates of white supremacy lost their case. Had

(*Continued on page 313*)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront



Star-Times

PICKETS FROM THE ST. LOUIS, MO., *branch marching in front of the City Hall on August 13 in protest against Mayor Kaufmann's refusal to discuss the appointment of a Negro to the local board of education.*

DR. DUBOIS TO LEAVE NAACP

The following letter explains the differences between Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and the Board of Directors of the NAACP:

Dear Branch Officer:

At the meeting of the Board of Directors on Monday, September 13, 1948, the Board passed the folloing MOTION:

That in view of Dr. DuBois' written refusal to cooperate with the NAACP executive staff, of which he is a member, in preparation for representation at the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly of the U.N., in view of his distribution of his memorandum of September 7, addressed to this Board, before its consideration by this Board, and in view of Dr. DuBois' expressed willingness that the memorandum in question be made public before its consideration by this Board, it is the conclusion of this Board that it will not be in the best interest of the Association to continue the employment of Dr. DuBois as a staff member beyond the term of his present contract; that formal notice of this decision be transmitted to Dr. DuBois.

Here is the background of this unusual situation.

In July, the Association was invited by Mr. Chester Williams, public liaison officer of the United States Commission to the United Nations, to send a representative to the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Committee on Administration of the Board met July 26, considered this invitation and designated Mr. White to attend this important session. Mr. White is now in Paris representing the Association.

On August 23rd, in response to a request from the Secretary, Dr. DuBois forwarded a few suggestions with regard to the United Nations General Assembly meeting. On August 24th, Mr. White wrote a memorandum to some other staff and board members asking them to submit further information and suggestions to the Secretary on matters which would likely come up at this meeting of the United Nations. Mr. White wished to hold a meeting to discuss these suggestions and consulted with Dr. DuBois as to a date convenient to the latter. September 7th at 3:30 p. m. was agreed upon for such a meeting.

However, on September 7th, Dr. DuBois sent Mr. White a long memorandum in which he criticized the acceptance of the invitation of a consultantship as tying the Association in with the foreign policy of our government with which Dr. DuBois is in disagreement, and stated that because of these reasons he was not attending the committee meeting called by the Secretary for September 7th.

The next morning, September 8th, a reporter from the New York *Times* telephoned Mr. White asking for comment on the DuBois memorandum. Since it was addressed to the Board and the Board was not scheduled to meet until September 13th, Mr. White said he had no comment to make.

On September 9th, the New York *Times* had a story headed—"RACIAL UNIT SCORED AS AIDING TRUMAN — Dr. DuBois Charges Dropping of efforts to Help Negro Peoples of World."

Now it should be pointed out that at the invitation of the State Department, the NAACP sent Dr. DuBois, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune and Walter White as consultants to the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. At no time was this action considered an endorsement of the foreign policy of the administration.

When questioned at the Board meeting on September 13th, Dr. DuBois said that he not given the memoran-

dum to the press himself, but that he supposed he was indirectly responsible because he had sent copies to the staff and board members. He added that if newspapermen had asked him for the memorandum he would have given it to them.

In view of this action and this declaration that he would have made the document public prior to its consideration by the Board, the directors felt they had no other course of action except the one represented in the MOTION quoted above.

President Arthur Spingarn expressed the sentiments of the Board as follows:

It is with deep regret that the Board felt the necessity of passing this motion. Dr. DuBois was one of the founders of the Association and for many years his voice was the voice of this organization.

He further added that—The Board could not retain Dr. DuBois and still remain the administrative authority of the Association.

Since this incident is certain to receive wide publicity and stimulate discussion in all sections of the country, we are sending this report to acquaint our branches with the details of the affair.

Sincerely yours,
ROY WILKINS
Assistant Secretary

New York City
September 15, 1948

DELEGATES ATTENDING *the Kansas state conference of branches at Osawatomie, Kansas, September 5-7, 1948.*

LEGAL

Albert Nolen: The legal department has petitioned Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall to change the discharge of Albert W. Nolen from dishonorable to honorable. Nolen, while a private in the Army, was sentenced to dishonorable discharge and confinement at hard labor for five years for refusing to obey the alleged lawful command of a superior officer to prepare his equipment and go on bivouac.

The petition indicated that Nolen, as claimed by him, was suffering from a chronic stomach disorder and was physically unable to respond to the order. Since the former soldier has served his five year sentence and has returned to civilian life bearing the brunt of a dishonorable discharge, the NAACP urged the Army Secretary to examine the substantial injustice evident in Nolen's record and to change his dishonorable discharge to honorable.

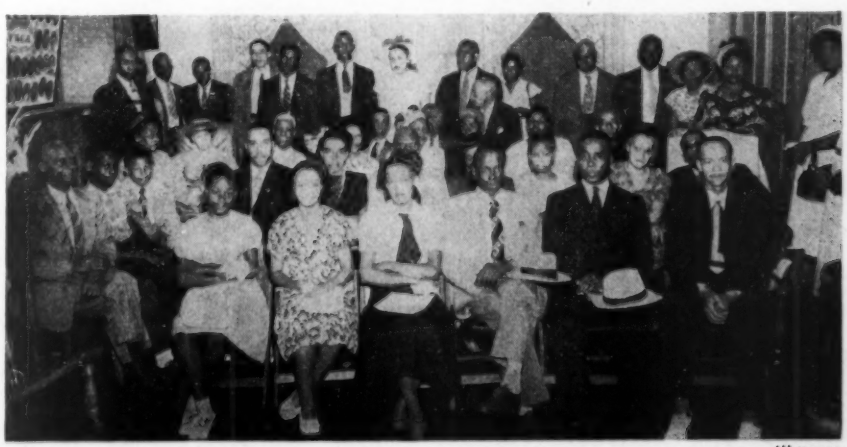
Linwood Williams: The Department of the Army has informed the NAACP that the sentence of life imprisonment levied against former Pvt. Linwood Williams, for allegedly having attacked a German woman, has been reduced to 30 years. Williams had appealed to the NAACP for assistance through his family in Oakland, California. Acting upon this appeal, the Association, through its attorneys, intervened before the Department of the Army and was successful in obtaining the stated reduction of sentence.

Luster Wright: A sentence of thirty years' imprisonment against general prisoner Luster Wright, a former serviceman from Cleveland, Ohio, has been reduced to eighteen years, according to information sent to the NAACP by the Department of the Army. This case was first called to the attention of the NAACP by the parents of Pvt. Wright in April, 1945. Wright had been given a sentence of death for allegedly having attacked two German women. As a result of the NAACP's action in the matter, the death sentence was set aside and subsequently reduced to thirty years and has again been reduced to eighteen years imprisonment.

POLITICAL

NAACP Branch Officer Resigns: Jerry O. Gilliam, executive secretary of the Norfolk, Va., branch, resigned August 23 to run for Congress on the Progressive party ticket. In a letter to V. R. Skeeter, chairman of the branch executive committee, Mr. Gilliam said:

"In order to avoid any possibility of embarrassment to the NAACP, either locally or nationally, I hereby tender my resignation as executive secretary



Williams

SOME OF THE MEMBERS *of the Memphis, Tenn., branch shown attending a branch meeting.*

and request that it be accepted as of August 29, 1948."

In a letter to national headquarters in New York, Mr. Gilliam explained that he had decided to run because both the Democratic and Republican candidates for Congress are not in accord with the platform of their parties on civil rights and have announced their opposition to the same.

Walter White in Paris: Walter White, executive secretary, sailed Tuesday, September 13, on the U.S.S. AMERICA for Paris where he is acting as consultant to the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly. Mr. White was invited to represent the NAACP at the meeting by Chester S. Williams, public liaison officer of the United States mission to the United Nations.

The NAACP executive secretary, in addition to representing the half million members of the Association, is serving as a spokesman for several other organizations, including the National Alliance of Postal Employees, the National Medical Association, Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, the National Baptist Convention and Omega Psi Phi fraternity.

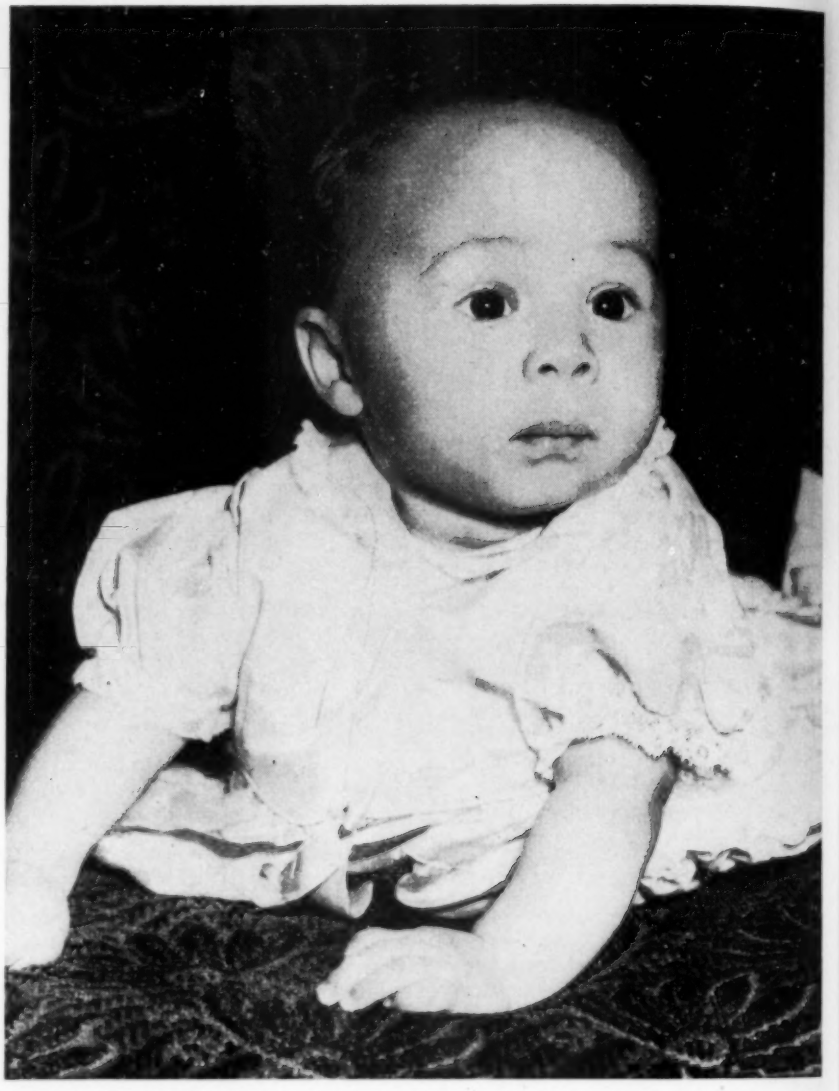
RACE

Non-Discrimination Clause: Assurrance that the Atomic Energy Commission is inserting a non-discrimination clause in its contracts with private employers was given the NAACP labor department in August by Oscar Smith, acting director, office of organization and personnel of the Commission.

The NAACP's inquiry and suggestion that the clause be included were based on previous conferences with Commission officials during which some doubt was expressed by the AEC reperesentatives on whether the clause was required.

The Association's labor secretary, Clarence M. Mitchell, pointed out, in making public his information from the Commission, that the clause will be an important factor in cutting down discrimination against colored persons in the new field of producing atomic energy. Association branches in key areas are being alerted to report to the national office on problems of discrimination in this field which they are unable to settle locally.

Asks Extended Equity Ban: Because some theater interests in Washington and some actors and producers are reported as favoring opening a theater in Alexandria, Va., to evade the order of Actors' Equity that its members shall not play in segregated theaters in Washington, the NAACP in August, wired the council of Actors' Equity:



ELAINE BALLTON, *first prize winner, a $25 bond, in the Burlington county, N. J., branch baby popularity contest.*

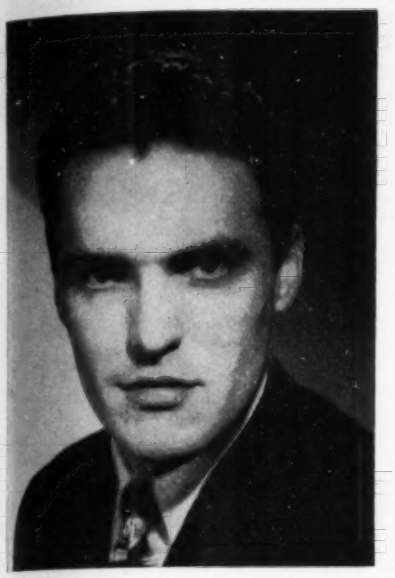
"We sincerely hope that the Council of Actors' Equity will extend prohibition of its members playing to segregated audiences in Washington to include Virginia and other parts of the capital area, thereby defeating this evasion of every principle of decent Americaism."

PRR Workers Seek Scad Hearing: Seven employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, charging discrimination by the company and the Brotherhood of Railroad Shopcrafts of America, in September appealed to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination for a reversal of a decision of Commissioner Elmer A. Carter dismissing the original complaint.

Mr. Carter, who conducted the investigation, handed down a decision on July 13 rejecting the complaint on the grounds that he had been unable to find "probable cause to credit the allegations" of discrimination. Seeking a reconsideration of this ruling, the workers applied for a hearing before three members of the commission in order to present evidence and oral argument.

The complaint, filed on behalf of the workers by Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry, assistant special counsel, NAACP, charges that the Pennsylvania Railroad company and the union have so interpreted and applied their military seniority agreement as to discriminate unfairly against these and other Negro non-veteran employees.

The men making the complaint are Thomas J. Byrd, Walter Sutherland, C. W. Willy, Jr., James E. Jones, Robert G. Ellis, Cyril E. Johnson and Thomas H. Davenport, all employed in the repair shops of the Pennsylvania



DAN MEYER, *of St. Benedict's college, a recent speaker for the Atchinson, Kansas, branch over station KVAK.*

Railroad at the New York station or in the Sunnyside shops. Their original complaint was filed on May 29, 1946. It charged both the company and the union with racial discrimination in the administration of certain collective bargaining agreements providing for seniority rights of employees.

All of the men filing the complaint have been employed by the company for periods ranging from ten to twenty-two years. They had been employed as coach cleaners until 1941 when the restriction against promotion of Negroes to mechanics was lifted. In 1941 they became assistant mechanics and were subsequently promoted to mechanics during the war. After the war white veterans who, prior to induction, had been employed by the company for only a few months as coach cleaners were rehired as mechanics replacing senior Negro employees who were demoted.

No Draft Calls By Race: No draft calls will be made by race "and every effort will be made to prevent race from being a factor in any functioning of the Selective Service System," declared Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, director.

Gen. Hershey's statement was contained in a letter to Walter White, NAACP secretary, who had inquired about the designation of race on some blanks being used by the system.

"I wish to assure you," the Hershey letter said, "that the Selective Service System will carry out both the letter and the spirit of the Selective Service Act of 1948 which prohibits discrimination in the selection of men for training and service under the Act, because of race or color.

"Furthermore, it will be my purpose in the administration of the system to protect the rights of minority groups in every particular."

Gen. Hershey said the appearing of race on the registration card "is for identification only."

ASSOCIATION

Fall Conferences: Meetings of the state conferences of branches were held during September in Texas and Kansas, the first two states to hold such conferences this fall. The Kansas state conference, which featured NAACP administrative assistant Madison S. Jones, Jr., as a speaker, launched a legal program designed to end segregation in the public schools of Kansas.

ONE OF THE YOUNG *members of the New York City branch, 1-year-old Phyllis Marshall, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Leo Marshall.*

Three NAACP staff members, Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall, Director of Branches Gloster B. Current, and Church Secretary Walter P. Offutt, spoke at the Texas state conference, which rededicated NAACP branches in Texas to the fight against all forms of segregation in that state.

The following states will continue the series of NAACP conferences which will be held this fall: Virginia (Staunton, Oct. 1-3), Pennsylvania (Johnstown, Oct. 1-3), Missouri (St. Louis, Oct. 2-3), Illinois (Springfield, Oct. 2-3), Alabama (Mobile, Oct. 8-10), South Carolina (Orangeburg, Oct. 9-11), New York (Poughkeepsie, Oct. 29-31) and Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, Nov. 3-4).

Ushers Aid NAACP: Receipt of a contribution of $50 from the National United Ushers Association of America, Inc., has been received by the NAACP. In a covering letter addressed to Walter P. Offutt, NAACP church secretary, Allen A. C. Griffith, president of the United Ushers, gave assurances that his organization supported "the great work" of the Association.

Youth Meet Set For St. Louis: During the second week of November the tenth annual youth conference of the NAACP will open at the Central Baptist church, 2842 Washington Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. More than two hundred and fifty delegates, representing the 25,000 members of the NAACP's youth councils and college chapters, are expected to attend the conference sessions, Nov. 10-13.

The conference, called each year to stimulate the interest of young people throughout the country in the NAACP, will stress such important issues as segregation in the armed forces, the necessity for equality of educational opportunity and the imminent need for action to make secure the present unstable peace among the nations of the world. Discussions of these issues will be led by authorities in each field. However, in keeping with the NAACP youth slogan, "Youth on the Team—Not on the Sidelines," the delegates will actively participate in every conference phase.

Among the speakers will be William Offutt, church secretary of the NAACP; Gloster B. Current, branch director; and Walter White, who will present the NAACP youth award to Joe Louis for outstanding contributions to human relations. Other features will be workshops and skits, reports from

EUGENE A. R. MONTGOMERY, *new executive secretary of the South Carolina conference of NAACP branches* *(See page 308).*

youth councils and college chapters, pageantry and a radio broadcast of the youth award.

Ingram Defense Fund: Contributions to the Ingram defense fund totaled $43,323.22, as of September 14.

What the Branches Are Doing

ARKANSAS: The FORT SMITH branch is one of the smaller NAACP branches which publishes a local branch bulletin. This bulletin is a great morale builder and is gotten out at minimum cost through use of duplicating machines in the local school and CIO. The branch has also sponsored four radio broadcasts outlining the work and purposes of the branch.

KANSAS: On July 26, Dan Meyer, of St. Benedict's college, gave an address under sponsorship of the ATCHISON branch over station KVAK, Atchison. The address dealt with the unjustness of segregation in general and in particular with the ban upon Negro attendance at the local theatres.

As chairman of the commission for interracial justice at St. Benedict's college, Mr. Meyer and his committee made a public opinion survey to determine the extent of racial prejudice in Atchison. Results of this survey were made a part of Mr. Meyer's talk. Thirty percent of the replies favored non-segregated movies; ninety percent were in favor of interracial churches; sixty-six percent favored non-segregated church pews; and eighty percent favored the employment of qualified Negoes where their qualifications are higher than that of any available white man. Eighty-four percent were opposed to interracial swimming pools.

HAWAII: The HONOLULU branch is currently investigating the death of Frederick Penman, a former Honolulu Negro police officer who died in March 1948 as result of injuries sustained in a tavern brawl. The police are holding one Joseph Falconetto on a manslaughter charge in connection with Penman's death. The legal redress committee of the branch has investigated the case on two separate occasions and the consensus of these investigations was that the Honolulu police department showed negligence in not administering first aid to Penman upon his arrest on a drunk charge by the police.

The branch claims that Honolulu police held Penman in jail several days before taking him to Queen's hospital, where he died on March 29 from injuries received when he was allegedly hit over the head with a two-by-four scantling. The branch is working to lay the blame for the policeman's death where it belongs, with the police department, and if the allegations against Honolulu's police are proved the branch will attempt to have Falconetto freed of the pending charges.

With a present membership of 450, the Honolulu branch is the only NAACP branch outside the continental limits of the United States. Of the thirty-three persons on its executive board, eight are non-Negroes. Two prominent Honolulu lawyers are members of the executive committee, both of whom are defending the Reinecke case.

The branch has recently set up a coordination committee to enlist the support of other community organizations on issues affecting the interest of minority groups. Biggest branch headache is keeping constant vigilance on the present racial harmony currently enjoyed by Negroes in the islands. From time to time the branch does receive a few cases from servicemen and civilians in which they allege they have been discriminated against because of race and color. The legal redress staff reports that there are five downtown bars and taverns which refuse to admit Negroes, but these places claim their policy is not racial but one adopted to avoid trouble with white mainland personnel possessing deep-seated prejudices against the presence of Negroes in taverns.

Branch officers for the current year are James Neal, president; Alfred Stacey, second vice-president; Mrs. Eula Kendall, secretary; and Edward Cox, treasurer. Executive board members are Richard C. Drake, John W. Howell, Charles M. Jones, Rev. Palmer S. Ross, Mrs. John Burns, Mrs. Helena Wideman, Luther Wideman, Arthur Gilliam, Walter Jones, Marcus T. Nelson, Robert Buffins, Frederick Myrick, Mrs. Lucille Neal, Mrs. Gertha Wheeler, Frank Bates, William Casey, Lewis Hughes, Mrs. Sally Ward, Morris Murray, Harriet Bouslog (white), Myer Symonds (white), Morris Freedman (white), Frank Margerum (white), two Japanese-Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Charles and Eileen Fujimoto, Booker T. Wilson, and Mary Noonan.

Henderson

FIRST REGISTRATION DAY *of the jim-crow summer school course in education for colored teachers, set up by the University of Maryland at the colored high school in Baltimore, is greeted by pickets from the Baltimore branch. L to R: Parren Mitchell, Dr. J. E. Camper, Milton Brown, executive secretary, and Mrs. Beatrice Martin.*

DELEGATES TO STATE CONFERENCE *held at the Corinthian church, Des Moines, Iowa, June* 20, 1948.

Ransom

PULLS WINNING NUMBER—*Louise Woods pulls winning number out of a basket in the New York NAACP State Conference raffle held in the United Mutual auditorium. Winner is Josephine Harris of 21 Old Quogue Road, Riverhead, L. I., who won a Packard. Second prize, a motion picture camera, went to Ruby Stewart, of Jamaica, L. I.; third prize, a trans-oceanic radio, went to Inez Miller, of New Rochelle. Pictured, L to R: Miss Hearn, Lionel Aldrich, vice-president of conference; James Mack, Miss Woods; and James E. Allen, president of conference.*

OHIO: The first annual city-wide NAACP youth conference was held in Cincinnati in August under the sponsorship of the youth committee of the CINCINNATI branch. Among the speakers were L. P. Bailey, who delivered the keynote address; George Maurer, who gave the history of the NAACP; Augustine Birch, minority group supervisor of the local office of the Ohio State Employment Service; and G. C. White, local attorney.

PENNSYLVANIA: Theresa M. Johnson, secretary of the YORK branch, sends the following letter to Gloster B. Current, director of branches:

"As secretary of the York branch I have been asked to send you an account of the municipal situation in York.

"Last summer (1947) the York branch succeeded in having the municipal swimming pool opened to Negroes for the first time since it was purchased by the city several years ago. As was to be expected the attendance at the pool decreased. However, there was no racial disturbance.

"The director of parks, who had been opposed to the admission of Negroes to the pool, immediately, without the consent of the city council, ordered the pool closed, basing his action on the statement that the expense of operating the pool had become greater than the income derived therefrom. (At the same time an epidemic of infantile paralysis had much to do with the lowered attendance).

"At the next weekly meeting of Council, the director of Parks was advised to reopen the pool, regardless of loss of revenue. This was done and the pool remained open until the end of the season.

"In January a new mayor took office. With him came several new members of the city council. The old director of parks was retained.

"In May 1948 the Council planned ways and means to avoid opening the pool this year. Several secret meetings were held with so-called 'Negro leaders.' An old Interracial Commission was revived for *one* meeting to give the appearance of 'good-will.'

"Out of it all came two proposals. The first, in order to avoid racial tension, a pool for Negroes to be built at a Negro community center, the Crispus Attucks Center. The board of directors of that center was opposed to a public pool being built on their grounds. After further conferences, a second proposal was made by a member of the Council. This was that a pool for Negroes be built on the Codorous playground which is used mainly by Negro children and is commonly thought of as a Negro playground. If this was not acceptable, the municipal pool was to be sold.

"The NAACP held a mass meeting protesting a separate pool. At the same time it drew a petition to the city council asking that the municipal pool be retained as a pool for all.

"The protest against a separate pool was so great that the proposal was dropped. The City Council, however, set a date for the sale of the pool.

"Upon the advice of Attorney Judson Ruck, who is a member of the York branch, three taxpayers of the city brought forth an injunction against the city to halt the sale of the pool.

"When the attempt to serve the summons was made, no council member could be found. All had left town. However, the next morning being the day for the weekly meeting of the Council the summons was served. The afternoon of the same day was the day set for the sale of the pool. The director of parks still gave out the statement that the pool would be sold as advertised. I think it important to mention here that the Council in advertising the sale limited the buyer to using the site for swimming and recreation.

"At the appointed time of the sale, the city solicitor announced to those assembled that because of a pending suit against the city, the pool would not be sold until later.

"The three taxpayers then filed a suit in equity charging that (1) the sale was being made as an attempt to avoid the Pennsylvania anti-discrimination law, (2) that land so dedicated to public use could not be sold thusly, (3) that it was a violation of the Constitutional rights of Negroes.

"The city has now filed its answer to the suit, and hearings had been scheduled to begin in the October court.

FORTY-EIGHTH KICK-OFF *membership meeting of the Fort Smith, Arkansas, branch: Seated, L to R: Mrs. M. Bean, Mrs. M. Oliver, Rev. J. P. Mitchner, Mrs. O. Pegues, S. R. Rutledge (president), C. Smith, W. A. Johnson (a white member), and Mrs. M. Parker. Standing: Mrs. M. E. Cox, L. Arthur, Rev. Sylvester King, Roy Roberts, T. D. Davis, and Mrs. Freeman.*

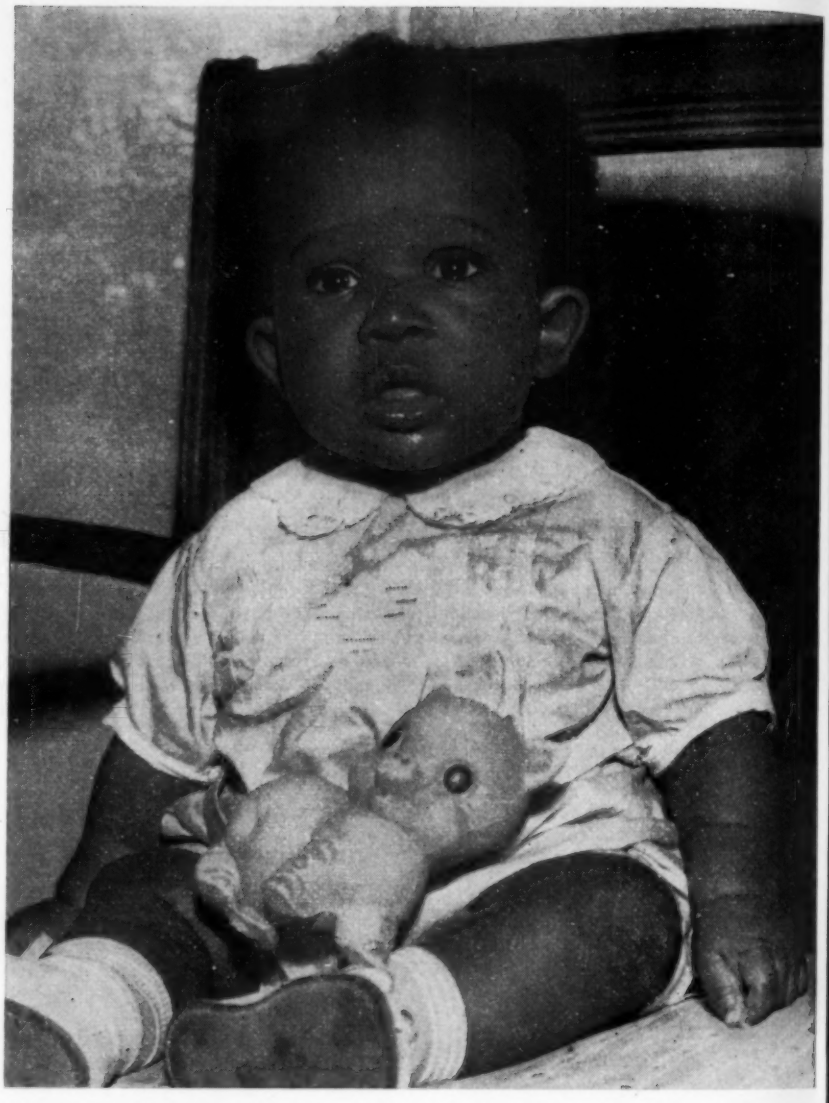
"In the meantime, the pool remained closed."

SOUTH CAROLINA: James M. Hinton, president of the SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE, has announced the appointment of Eugene A. R. Montgomery, of Orangeburg, as executive secretary of the conference. Mr. Montgomery, who began his duties on July 6, is a 1942 graduate of Claflin college and the holder of a M.S.W. from the Atlanta university school of social work, 1948, as well as a veteran of World War II, having served thirty-two months in the U. S. Marine Corps.

The conference sent Mr. Montgomery to the national office in New York City for intensive training for two weeks in July. He spent one afternoon with the Baltimore branch reviewing office routine, and a day with the Washington bureau in conferences with the staff on veterans, labor problems, and legislation.

Chairman Archie Broadfoot, top grievance man of Local 1104, USA-CIO, was a guest speaker at the OBERLIN branch on August 23 in a meeting sponsored by the branch committee on labor and industry under the chairmanship of Lawrence Garrett.

Title of Mr. Broadfoot's talk was "The Grievance Man Looks at the Race Question." He outlined the history of the formation of the United Steelworkers and its effect on the status of the Negro worker. He warned the branch against permitting itself to be turned into a political tool, and added that colored people must become more active in union work. He pointed out that the NAACP and the CIO have a common meeting ground in their fight for local, state, and national FEPC legislation. In the course of his talk, he admitted that in union meetings of the steelworkers in the South that segregation prevailed, the Negro members being seated on one side of the hall and the white on the other.



SECOND PRIZE WINNER, *Ronald Francis, in the Burlington county, N. J., branch baby popularity contest.*

Book Reviews

PROPER BOSTONIANS, BLACK

***The Living is Easy*: By Dorothy West. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.**

Boston, we've been told repeatedly, is more a state of mind than a geographic location. The persuasiveness of this state of mind and its impact upon the striving Negro community is the theme of this first novel by Dorothy West, herself an entirely proper Bostonian. Indeed, so persuasive is this state of mind that young Bostonians grow up believing there are only two races of mankind: Bostonians and non-Bostonians, the author reports.

Miss West's observations on the Boston scene are encompassed in the story of a migrant Negro family which settles in this home of the Abolition movement and one-time seat of American culture. *The Living is Easy* is more particularly the story of Cleo Judson, a selfish, ambitious woman, who succeeds in crashing Boston's Negro "society," breaking up the homes of her trusting sisters, and driving her plodding husband to financial ruin.

Domineering and ruthless, Cleo Judson rules her household with an iron hand, intimidating and frustrating her shy daughter, Judy, browbeating her dependent sisters and their children, and disdaining her hardworking husband who loses his business in an effort to maintain the standard of living his wife has set for the family. Family disintegration and ruin were the inevitable consequences of her driving ambition.

As far as this reviewer knows, *The Living is Easy* is the first novel on Boston's Negro community. Harlem, Chicago and the Deep South have been the usual locale of novels about Negroes. In developing her story in her home city of Boston, Miss West has enlarged the canvas of Negro fiction and has treated a phase of Boston life which the popular novels on that city have neglected. In this, Miss West has made a significant contribution to the ever-expanding literature about Negro life in America.

HENRY LEE MOON

THE GREAT ACCOMMODATOR

***Booker T. Washington: Educator and Interracial Interpreter.* By Basil Mathews. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948. XVII+350 pp. $4.75.**

Booker T. Washington is indubitably a great American, and his career like that of most eminent men has been the subject of much debate. In many respects Mr. Washington is more of a hero to Southern whites than he is to his own people, many of whom regard him as the great compromiser, a sort of proto-Quisling. His educational theories, which in some respects anticipated those of the most advanced modernists, were long the subject of bitter controversy, both among the Negro intelligentsia as well as the man in the street. His views on the Negro in politics, his spurning of social equality, generally used by Southerners as a red herring, his leaning over backward to avoid friction, his frequent idolization of whites *qua* whites, his opportunism, his criticism of his own people,

"From the outset, his ambition was to lift a people, not simply to start a school."

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

EDUCATOR AND RACIAL INTERPRETER

BY BASIL MATHEWS

IN this first full-length biography of Booker T. Washington emerges the stirring story of the Negro race from slave days through emancipation to its coming of educational age.

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his this best-of-all-possible-worlds outlook all combined to make him a prime target for the oft bitter criticism of Negroes.

That Mr. Washington was a product of his time and milieu cannot be gainsaid. He was born in slavery and grew up during the bitter aftermath of the Civil War and, for the South, the humiliation of Reconstruction. Under the circumstances, given his temperament with its mellow philosophy of heartiness and accommodation, his was perhaps the wiser course. He worked on the structure of interracial harmony from a shaky scaffolding, one supported by a triad of southern whites, northern whites, and his own people. No better awareness of this is to be found, perhaps, than in his Atlanta Exposition speech with its metaphor of the fingers and the hand. Was he wise in this compromise? His critics say, no; his admirers, yes. But the final answer is in the laps of the gods.

These issues are among those discussed by his English biographer, Mr. Mathews, who with his YMCA, interracial outlook (he is the author of *The Clash of Color*) seems in complete sympathy with his subject. For Mr. Washington, like the late Dr. George Washington Carver, acts as a loadstone to a certain type of whites. Even though our author explains Mr. Washington's compromises as timely realism one detects in reading between the lines a distinct bias in favor of the South. He certainly fails to grasp, at least emotionally, the reasons which moved Mr. Washington's critics, especially such men as Dr. DuBois and Monroe Trotter. He ignores Mr. Washington's drive for power, his Pollyanna optimism, his opportunism, his self-hypnosis.

On the other hand, he does justice to many very human traits in Mr. Washington's character. Traits found only in the great. Washington would pick his subordinates and assistants with care, though on somewhat erratic whims. But once they were accepted he delegated them responsibility and in no way interfered with their work. He was apparently a deeply religious man and his biographer says that he kept a copy of the Bible in every room of his house. He was a hardworker, orderly, efficient, and expected the same virtue in others in whom he had placed confidence.

In discussing the origin of his first name *Booker*, Mr. Mathews suggests that it could possibly have come from the Nigerian *Bukar*, sonny. Taliaferro was the name of a white man living on a neighboring plantation. Washington was Booker Taliaferro's own adoption.

Considering the author's limitations this is perhaps the best portrait of Booker T. Washington to see print since the subject's own autobiography.

J. W. I.

IN BRIEF

***Education in Haiti.* By Mercer Cook. Bulletin 1948, No. 1, Federal Security Agency. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. VI+99pp. 25¢.**

A brief history and analysis of the Haitian educational system from its beginnings to date. Dr. Cook, who spent twenty-two months in Haiti as supervisor of the English-teaching project first sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education, has drawn on his personal observations and documentation to give us an authoritative study. The author examines the prolems of Haitian education, both historically and critically, and the methods employed by the Haitians to cope with them. Most of their problems are rooted in the grinding poverty of the country and its high rate of illiteracy. Despite these appalling handicaps, there has been progress.

***Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.* Edited by Merze Tate. The Howard University Studies in the Social Sciences. Washington: The Howard University Press, 1948. VIII+128pp. $1.50.**

Papers and proceedings of the tenth annual conference of the division of social science of the Howard University graduate school held in Washington, April 8-9, 1947. With the exception of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, all the participants are experts on various phases of imperialism and colonialism and they include Dr. Rayford Logan, Dr. Max Yergan, Dr. W. A. Timmerman, George H. Middleton, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Excepting the papers by Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. Middleton, who is (or was) the first secretary of the British Embassy in Washington, these words of Dr. DuBois sum up the general tenor of the seven papers: "Great Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal were not and are not in Africa and Asia for their health or for the greater glory of God."

***The Integration of the Negro Into the United States Navy, 1776-1947 (With a Brief Historical Introduction). By Lt. (D) Dennis Denmark Nelson, U.S.N.R. Washington: Navy Department, 1948. X+212pp.**

This study was written originally as a master's thesis for the M. A. degree at Howard University and it is now issued by the Navy as a semi-official release. Lt. Nelson's treatment of Navy policy in the handling of Negroes is generally temperate, though he finds things to criticize here and there. He feels that on the whole the Navy is making a sincere effort to implement its policies of integration, and thinks its anti-segregation policy as "possibly the greatest social gain of World War II."

***The Invisible Island (A Novel). By Irwin Stork. New York: The Viking Press, 1948. 377pp. $3.00.**

The story of Matthew Stratton is two stories. One story, told as a "flashback," is that of Stratton's early years in a Bronx slum, his experiences at City College, his unsuccessful writing career, and his depression job in the postoffice. The other, which is much the more dramatic story, is that of Matthew Stratton's deliberately chosen career as a high-school teacher in Harlem. It is through the eyes and experience of Stratton that Mr. Stark skillfully portrays the suppressed fear, the hate, the violence of Harlem. For Emerson high, with its mixed teaching staff, is Harlem in microcosm. He probes also into the problems of education in the black belt. There were neat lesson plans for everything, but they were a fraud; since there were no

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Navy Photo

LT. DENNIS D. NELSON, USNR, *whose* The Integration of the Negro into the United States Navy *is reviewed at page* 309.

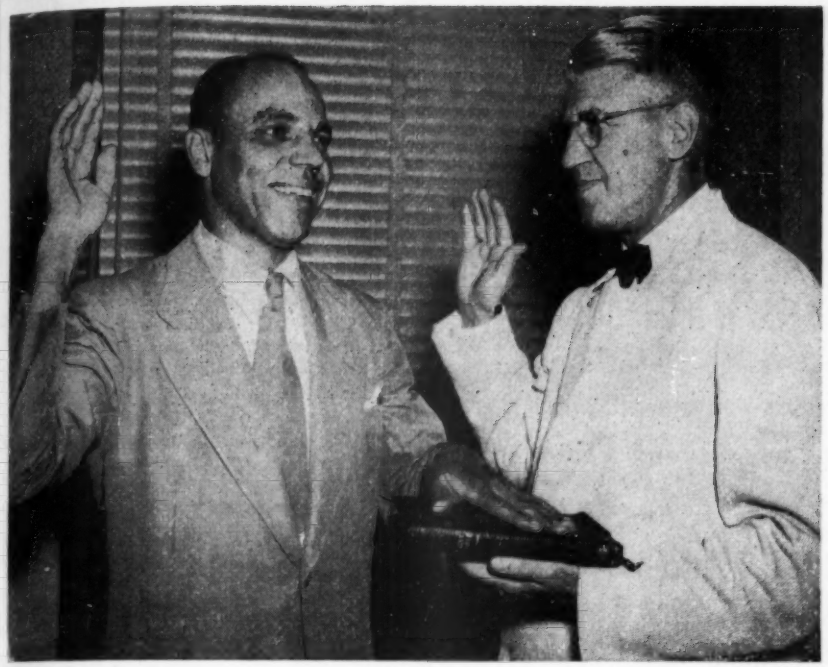
plans for playgrounds, housing projects, psychiatrists, and VD specialists. This is an honest and moving first novel and one that is decidedly worth reading.

***Medical Symphony: A Study of the Contributions of the Negro to Medical Progress in New York.* By Gerald A. Spencer, M.D. Published by the author. 120pp. $3.50.**

An affably accommodating vanity book which lists, like a seed catalogue, almost every Negro doctor in New York whose vanity could be equated with that of its author. It takes more than a mere listing of names, a roll call of medical boards and colleges, and the printing of photographs to make a book. The doctor is advised to stick to his cosmetology.

***Witnesses for Freedom: Negro Americans in Autobiography.* By Rebecca Chalmers Barton. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. XIII+294pp. $3.50.**

A somewhat novel approach to the study of the Negro through the selected autobiographies of twenty-three Negroes ranging from Booker T. Washington, through William Pickens and Taylor Gordan to Richard Wright. Studying autobiography is one way of broadening our knowledge of our fellow men, and Mrs. Barton feels that her subjects hold forth a key to white Americans to "those still unlocked doors waiting to reveal the Negro point of view." One shortcoming with this method is that "Bondage is hoarse, and may not speak aloud," as Shakespeare sagely remarks in *Romeo and Juliet*. Prejudice, frustration, the complex of inferiority and what-will-look-good-to-the-white-man attitude tend to inhibit frank Negro expression. Almost all the self-portraits examined by Mrs. Barton



Acme

NEW U.S. MINISTER TO LIBERIA, *Edward R. Dudley (left), former assistant special counsel for the NAACP takes his oath of office. The oath is being administered by Raymond D. Muir, acting chief of protocol of the State Department.*

tell much less about their subjects than they do of the Negro problem. They are fragments of portraits with a nose etched in here, an eye there, but never the full rounded face with warts and pimples all intact. She divides her subjects into the accommodators, the achievers, the experimenters, and the protestors for a new freedom. Dr. Alain Locke contributes a foreword. The book is interesting reading.

Important People (A Novel). **By Robert Van Gelder. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1948. 339pp. $3.00.**

Mr. Van Gelder introduces us to a group of lousy magnificoes he believes the world could do without. They include Carter West, owner of a vast magazine chain peddling musty ideas; Schuyler West, his lazy skirt-chasing son; Dixon West, his grandson, just back from the army and heir to the West magazine dynasty; Oswald Boykin, editorial director of the West enterprises and hated for his fawning insincerity; Dr. Marcus Mannering, Harlem demagogue and rabble-rouser, who sparks a riot; an assortment of rich, alcoholic, and ruttish females; hangers-on of the rich; and the children of these magnificoes, worse than their parents. The author puts these puppets through their bounderish paces with all the skill of a plot-conscious detective-story writer. There are thrills and suspense aplenty.

Harlem comes into the story too (with a callow interracial romance between Boykin's daughter, Miriam, and Dr. Mannering's son, Cletus), as well as the Negro problem. All the stock elements of satire are here, including Mr. Van Gelder's savage indignation, yet the story turns out to be no more than standard stuff.

The Uniform of Colour: A Study of White-Black Relationships in Swaziland. **By Hilda Kuper, Ph.D. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1947. XII+160pp. 32 plates. 15/ ($3.75).**

Swaziland, if you don't know, is between Mozambique, Transvaal, and Natal in South East Africa. The territory is small, 6,705 square miles, and its population numbers, according to the last census of 1936, 156,715 people. Of this total, 2,740 were Europeans, 153,270 Bantu, and 705 Colored.

In this book our author "has attempted to assess, with meticulous care, the processes which are at work developing a new society, a society which is still a hierarchy of rank based on birth, but now not a hierarchy based on birth into a conquering clan, or into clans closely linked with the conquering clan, but into a hierarchy based on the color of the skin at birth, birth into the dominant White group, or birth into the subject Black group. In this society . . . color is the main index of rank and privilege. As the Swazis say 'color speaks.'"

What the author has to say about the relationships of Swazis and Europeans in the areas of work, education, legislation, politics, justice, and religion is the familiar story of raptorial whites and despoiled blacks. "My impression," concludes Dr. Kuper, "is that there have been definite advances made in the last decade, but that the basic pattern of White-Black relationship remains unchanged."

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DON'T FORGET

The 10th Annual Youth Conference of the NAACP.

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• • •

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
November 10-13, 1948

On to California!

In 1949 the NAACP will be forty years old, and the 40th Annual Conference will meet in Los Angeles, California, beginning Tuesday, July 12 and ending Sunday, July 17.

Branches of the NAACP should begin making plans now to send delegates to this history-making 40th Annual Conference.

Begin raising a special fund to send delegates. Put this money aside so that next July your Branch will answer the roll call in Los Angeles.

Remember, the conference will be in mid-July, not June. Start your arrangements now! Remember that the 40th Anniversary of the long and brilliant fight for civil rights will be celebrated in sunny California, with the Los Angeles Branch as the main host, and all California Branches as assistant hosts.

The National Office will not announce any detailed plans before January 1, but Branches should start work without delay. Remember that you cannot plan and finance a California trip on two weeks' notice.

On to California in 1949!

British Colonies and Marshall Aid

The position of the British colonies under the Marshall Plan has been explained by Sir Stafford Cripps, chancellor of the exchequer.

The term "United Kingdom" in Article V of the agreement covers all acceding colonies. The important point is that the colonies are free to accede individually before or after the signing of the agreement by the United Kingdom. A number of colonies have acceded, but Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, British Honduras, the Federation of Malaya, the Gold Coast, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, North Borneo, Northern Rhodesia and Trinidad have asked for time to consult their local legislatures. Sir Stafford added that "if some of the more important territories do not agree to participate within a reasonable period, then the United States would be entitled to regard that as a matter of major importance entitling them to reconsider the form and continuance of aid to the United Kingdom."

By Article V of the Agreement the United Kingdom undertakes to make raw materials available to the United States. The United Kingdom has few, if any, such materials available from its own resources but some of the colonies, particularly Malaya and the African colonies, are important primary producers of raw materials required by the United States.

Aircraft Dedicated

Aircraft of the Liberian International Airways, Ltd., were dedicated by an inaugural flight in July. The new airline has been financed and organized and passenger and cargo service on the West Coast of Africa will begin in the immediate future.

Every facility at the command of the owners of LIA, the Republic of Liberia, the Liberia Company, and the founders are being mobilized to expedite the launching of the air service. This service will not only afford Liberia and the West Coast of Africa with efficient and productive air service, but will also place the flag of Liberia in international commerce.

The planes which will fly the LIA are the finest twin-engine aircraft, Douglas DC3s, with a twenty-one passenger capacity. Roberts Field will be the home base for LIA.

NEGRO HEAD: A POEM

In a niche
Upon a crystal pedestal,
Transparent once, but made opaque
By the powder-fine dust of centuries,
A head carved of black marble,
Obscured by shadows——
Shadow paintings
Come from the shedding brushes of Time's artists.
A mural, blood and thunder,
Slender iron pikes bending and breaking
Like willow-wands.
The abolitionist's tool,
The Moses-bearded fool,
The fire and brimstone prophet
Who spoke of blood with Scripture quotes;
(The shadowy form of the gallows is not a proud symbol.)
A painting of the fable,
A painting of the sable-hued Cinque,
Cinque, the mutineer.
(Proud symbol this, but still, a shadow-painting.)
In the darkened niche, unseen, unheard,
The figure dreams.
And if some stranger should peer
With blue-eyed inquisitiveness,
Into the darkness here sits the image,
It is only to touch with obscene, sweaty fingers
(Exotic thing, would look well in a foyer.)
The carving, stolid, thick-lipped, sullen-eyed, immobile,
Not unlike a huge panther,
(The animated Night!)
With whispers inarticulate, the image bids
The stranger upon the paintings look,
The paintings of the past.
Would not some wind,
A freedom-wind,
Waft through Ionic columns,
Past the muraled dead dreams,
Into the shadowed niche,
Take aim——and blow!
The pedestal tilting,
The ebon head
Indignant as a child aroused in the night,
Would crash to the parqueted floor——
Making a resounding noise!
There it lies, the chiseled head,
From it, blood flows——glistening red!
Compare to ancient Rome——It's historied ruins,
The heap of broken marble, ebon flecked with crimson.
(There is glory in Time. But, the future Time is obscured by the shadow-paintings of the past.)
Still must we mould, with deft hands,
A figure raised upon a shaft of steel,
In tribute to they, who with rifle blasts,
Did pierce the shadows.
A mercurial figure, symbol of the present,
Running, swiftly, on legatoed feet,
To greet the future.

HILLARY LYNN MICHAEL

COLORED MAN

He knows Gethsemane;
Driven to its solitude,
He has sharpened to his need
Its awful silences.

And Golgotha –
The jeers, the colored cloak,
The long and weary way
To a storm-dark hill.

He knows the Third Day –
The faith that all unnoticed
Stayed a while
To hear him from the lonely tomb.

MAY MILLER

VITAL STATISTICS

Be thankful for your low pay, chile,
Go on home to your shack.
Put on your thinnish winter coat
And eat your little snack.

But if you get consumption
And pine away and die,
It's just 'cause you ain't healthy,
That's the reason why.

BEATRICE WRIGHT

Taft-Hartley Act

(*Continued from page 301*)

the persons who wanted to bring in a new union not had the encouragement of the Taft-Hartley law they would hardly have pursued the matter as far as they did.

Far from squelching unions which bar colored people from membership, the present NLRB has actually reaffirmed its old stand of granting recognition to those unions which discriminate against colored employees. In the Texas and Pacific Motor Transport case, the NLRB refused to permit the insertion of evidence into the record by the AFL Teamsters that the International Association of Machinists would not properly represent colored employees, because it barred them from membership. The same attitude is expressed by the Board in the F. W. Wint Company and the Norfolk and Southern Bus Company cases.

A great deal of federal money is now being spent on taking cumbersome votes as required by Section 8 (a) (3) of the Act to determine whether employees want a union shop. The NLRB's own figures from April 1 to June 30, 1948, show that out of 11,882 elections held on the question of union shop, 11,568 resulted in the union's favor. In these elections, over a million valid votes were cast by employees. Even some of the most fervent supporters of the Act are beginning to admit this section is an expensive and complicated legislative device for proving that two plus two equal four.

The basic tragedy of the Taft-Hartley Act is that it has established a legislative pattern for whittling away valuable social legislation. The same people who rammed it through have also planned schemes for emasculating the Wage Hour Law and the Social Security Act. These persons do not favor anything which gives the employee the right to make himself heard and to obtain redress when he has a just grievance. They also include many who are against any protection for the victims of mobs, the persons who are denied a job because of their race, and the man who gets bashed in the face when he refuses to ride in a jim-crow car.

President Truman

(*Continued from page 299*)

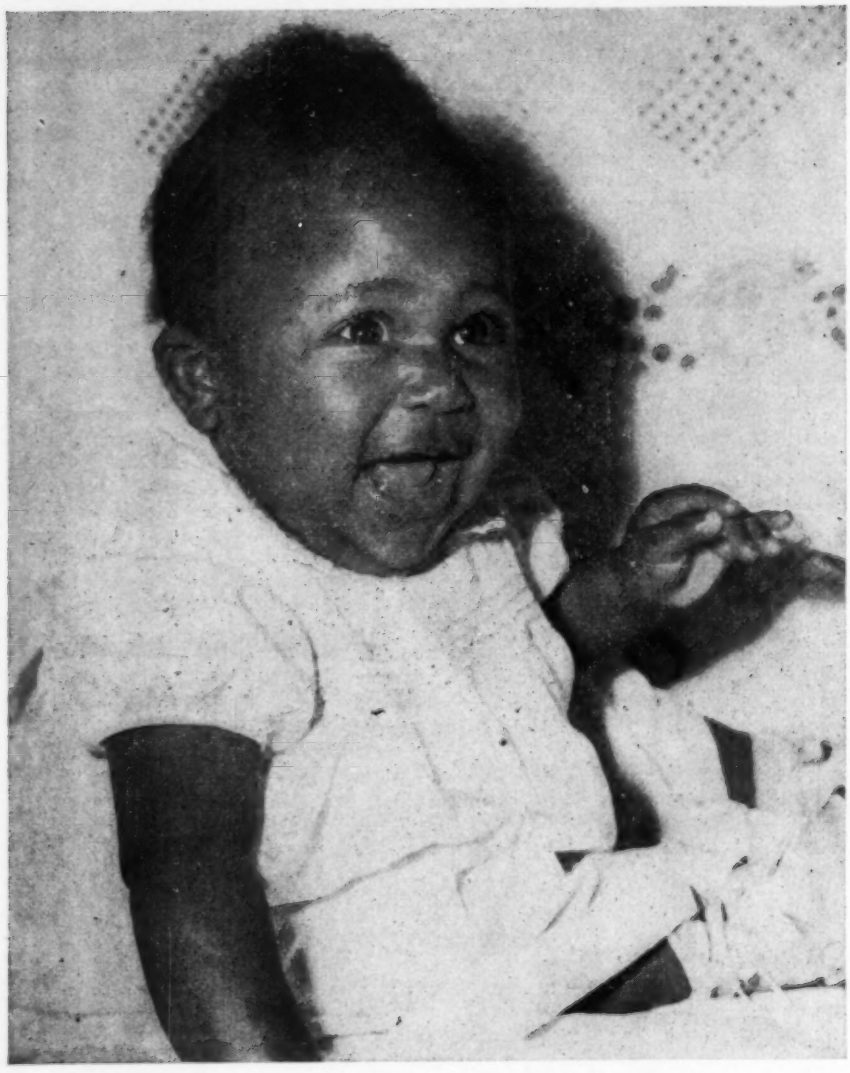
industry and his character. These rewards for his effort should be determined only by these truly relevant qualities."

The President insisted that: "Our immediate task is to remove the last remnants of the barriers which stand between millions of our citizens and their birthright." He said: "There is no justifiable reason for discrimination because of ancestry, or religion, or race, or color."

While the President's civil rights program aimed at righting the wrongs too long imposed on Negro Americans, its primary and most fundamental result, if enacted, would be to strengthen the moral leadership of the United States in the family of nations.

Foundation Stone

Civil rights is the foundation-stone upon which world peace must be built. The measure of America's world leadership is the extent to which the individual, within her own borders, can live secure in a climate where justice and equality prevail.



THIRD PRIZE WINNER, *Ernestine Henderson, in the Burlington county N. J., branch baby popularity contest.*

The Negro is emerging both as an American, and as a considerable body of voters. There is every reason to believe that his growing political strength will command the basic considerations to which he is entitled. These factors are becoming more and more apparent to the Negro himself.

For the first time since the turn of the century, Negroes living in the South will be voting in considerable numbers in the coming election.

These Negroes remember that they have received political emancipation largely at the hands of the Democratic party. They also know that they and their children have reaped many gains through federal programs sponsored by a Democratic Administration—public housing, increased educational facilities, improved public health facilities, wage and hour laws and others.

Southern Negroes also remember that it was a Republican deal that saddled them with legal segregation, which has served as an additional handicap over and above those already suffered by reason of race.

I refer to the Hayes deal which resulted in the removal of federal troops from the South before Negroes had reached sufficient maturity to protect their rights from being violated by former masters.

Negroes, wherever they reside in America, will recall that the first Republican-controlled Congress in 16 years adroitly sidestepped anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, fair employment practice and other civil rights legislation. They also saw this same 80th Congress kill price control, refuse to enact federal aid to education, a 75¢ hourly minimum wage, and extend Social Security benefits to millions of Negro domestics and farm laborers.

Electorate Will Remember

These things the Negro electorate will remember on November 2. These facts will guide their choice for the presidency. The Negro electorate will hold Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, titular head of the Republican party, responsible for his Party's failure to act positively to meet their needs.

Prominent Negro Republican leaders will also remember that their unanimously adopted resolution in Philadelphia in September 1947 was given the cold-shoulder by the Party's high command.

In this resolution they admitted "being deeply disturbed and justifiably apprehensive over the failure of the first Republican-controlled Congress in sixteen years to take any ultimate action on problems of transcending importance affecting the civil rights of large segments of the population in spite of the solemn and unequivocal party platform in respect to those issues . . ."

These Republican leaders reminded the Party that "colored voters generally, and an ever increasing number of liberal-minded white voters will not be deceived by legislative jockeying, buck passing and double talk." Further, that "the colored voters will not be satisfied with honey promises and noble gestures, but will demand from the party in power actual performance and fulfillment of platform pledges and campaign promises."

As a minimum "must" program, these leaders called for the enactment of anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, and fair employment practices legislation, none of which was passed.

President Truman will receive the bulk of the Negro vote in November, informal polls indicate.

The Negro electorate knows that President Truman could have refrained from making his own recommendations for a civil rights program. Indeed, they know that he could have stalled on releasing the report of his Committee. Indeed, he chose to make civil rights a basic issue, and refused to take quarters in his determined effort to fulfill for all Americans the enjoyment of their Constitutional rights.

These are critical times in the affairs of our Nation and of the world. They are times which demand great moral convictions, and the honesty and courage to fight through to actual accomplishment.

This, President Truman, the Democratic party candidate for reelection, has demonstrated he has the will and the guts to do. This courage and con-

viction will win him the overwhelming support of the American people on November 2.

Henry Wallace

(Continued from page 299)

who right now are fighting to establish a great new party in the face of vicious attacks and misrepresentations from the press and radio and open violence directed against them and their leaders.

In 1858 Lincoln told his new party, "The Party is newly formed . . . That army is today the best hope of the nation and of the world."

In 1948 Wallace told his partners in the New Party: "And if there is one message above all other messages which I bring you as a result of that Southern trip it is this: Fear is a product of inactivity and the greatest remedy for fear is to stand up and fight for your rights."

Party Membership

Inside that moving, fast-growing partnership that is the Progressive party are Negroes and whites from every social, economic and intellectual level. There are giants like the world's greatest sociologist and historian, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. There are millions of Negro workers, union members, farmers, professional men, sharecroppers, businessmen, students joined in the only mass-scale political party fighting discrimination and jim crow on a seven-day-a-week basis.

So the Progressive party begins where Abe Lincoln left off.

The partnership between Old Abe and the Negro people of 1863 abolished slavery. The Republican-Democrats held on to jim crow.

Henry Wallace is the only presidential candidate who declares, "Jim crow Must Go."

While you read these words the Republican-Democratic candidates, be they Dewey or Truman, Warren or Barkley, are carrying out their weasel-worded platforms on "Equality" by cooperating with jim crow—by eating, sleeping or speaking in places where Negroes are banned.

When the Progressive party presidential candidate went South he spoke only to non-segregated audiences. He traveled through North Carolina going hungry rather than eat or drink where Negroes could not be served. He slept in the homes of Negro friends and in his own car rather than sleep in a hotel that barred Negro guests.

He was hounded and harrassed by the hoodlums of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion and the Dixiecrats, yet he faced the lynchers and the poll taxers. He stood his ground and fought back.

And from the actions of this man who stands alongside the Thomas Jeffersons, the John Browns, the Frederick Douglasses, the Wendell Philipes of yesteryears, thousands of Negro and white Southerners have gotten inspiration and courage to reach across the color-line and grasp hands and join together in this New Party of the common man.

That was the platform of the Progressive Party in action.

In Oklahoma Wallace declared, before a mixed audience, "I am haunted by a single grim fact pulled out of dry statistics . . . it is the fact that a Negro child born this day has a life expectancy ten years less than a white child born a few miles away. "I say those ten extra years for millions of Americans are what we are fighting for. "I say that those who perpetuate jim crow are criminals. I pledge you that I will fight them with everything I have."

And he has.

That was the same plank carried out by Progressive party vice-presidential candidate, the witty Senator of Idaho, Glen Taylor. The same Taylor who led the fight against the seating of Senator Bilbo. The same Taylor who defied jim crow in Alabama and went to jail—arrested by a police chief who later turned up as a delegate to the Democratic convention.

Party Platform

On the Negro issue, the Progressive party platform, in part, calls for the: (1) Outlawing of all segregation in the government service, including the military forces, by presidential proclamation; (2) A permanent Fair Employment Practices Act; (3) Halting of federal aid to any agencies practicing discrimination or segregation; (4) Outlawing of the dissemination of anti-Semitic, anti-Negro or racist propaganda by mail, radio, motion pictures or any other means of communication; and (5) Federal inspection of all primary and election polling places, particularly in the South where the right of Negroes to vote is blocked.

The Progressive party calls for the (6) Developing of special programs to raise the low standards of health, housing, and educational facilities for Negroes, Indians, and other nationality groups; (7) Withholding of federal funds from any state or local authority which withholds opportunities or benefits for reason of race, creed, color, sex, or national origin; (8) a federal program of education, in cooperation with state, local and private agencies, to combat racial and religious prejudice; (9) a civil rights act for the District of Columbia to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination in the Nation's capital; (10) Abolishing of segregation and discrimination in public housing; and (11) Enactment of anti-lynching legislation and legislation abolishing segregation in interstate travel.

What has been the Republican-Democratic answer to the Progressive party's platform?

Forthwith, President Truman, who has proposed not a single bill affecting civil rights to Congress, went into a huddle with his "advisers" and brought forth a tricky "order" to "set up a committee" to "investigate" complaints of discrimination in the Armed Forces.

It is the Progressive party platform which points out that, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the President has the Constitutional power to end segregation in the Army without the aid of Congress.

Truman "Investigates." Jim crow marches on.

The Progressive party calls for an anti-lynch bill.

In the eighty-three years since the Civil War more than 5,000 Negroes, 200 of them women, have been lynched by Dixie mobs during the solid reign of the Republican-Democratic team.

Not one single lyncher has ever paid for his crime.

It is the Progressive party which points out that the policy of the two Big-Business-Controlled parties has been a national policy of terror and jim crow against Negro citizens.

It is the Progressive party that exposes the Truman double-talk about "Civil Rights" while he conducts a "Loyalty Probe" among federal employees and purges those with liberal tendencies.

One of the first victims of the Truman "Loyalty Probe" and purge was Frank Barnes, president of the Santa Monica, California, NAACP branch who, under Truman's Executive Order, was fired and blacklisted for life from his postal job because of his outspoken and militant fight for Negro rights.

It is the Progressive party's platform that calls for a fight against the hysterical persecution of Communists and for the abolition of the vicious, fascist-backed Thomas-Rankin Un-American Activities Committee whose co-chairman, Representative Rankin, refuses to touch the Ku Klux Klan, and declares, "After all, the Klan is an American institution; its members are American."

It is the Progressive party platform that calls for whole-scale public housing and slum clearance; a fight against inflation by attacking the cause: mount-

ing profits; an end to the pouring of American dollars down the rat-holes of reactionary governments in Greece, China, Turkey; a "Marshall Plan," to aid the South; an end to the frantic drive of big monopolists for war and world rule; an end of the "Cold War" with the Soviet Union.

Principles of FDR

It is the Progressive party that calls for a return to the principles of peace and social progress of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Of Henry Wallace, Roosevelt said: "I think Henry is perfect. I like him. He's the kind of fellow I want around. He thinks right. He's a digger . . . He's a philosopher. He's got ideas. He thinks right. He'll help the people think."

Since Wallace's departure from the Truman cabinet that administration is dominated wholly by the same military brass hats and Big Business bosses that have already got control over the Republicans.

It is the Progressive party that points out the fascist make-up of the Truman appointments to key posts which include fifty bankers, financiers, and big industrialists; some thirty generals, admirals, and Dixie military men and nearly fifteen big-corporation lawyers. Every remnant of the New Deal is gone.

Just as the Republicans knifed the program of Lincoln in 1865, the Democrats knifed the program of FDR almost before he was buried. That is why the Progressive party was born. "When the old Parties rot, the people have a right to be heard through a New Party," declared Henry Wallace. It is for this reason that the vote of 15 million Negro people in America in 1948 is loaded with more power than ever before in history.

The Negro people, in partnership with the Progressive party, are in a position of world leadership which can help lead millions of white, black, and brown peoples throughout the world to a new era of peace, freedom, and true democracy. In 1948 the Negro people, in partnership with the Progressive party, can cast aside the "Uncle Toms," the mis-leaders, the weak-kneed "liberals," the "equality-by-and-by boys" and bring about an end of jim crow and discrimination *within our time.*

While the weak waver the strong gather.

"Take one step backwards," says Paul Robeson, co-chairman of the Progressive party," and they beat your brains out. Stand up and fight, and they run."

Win, lose or draw, in 1948 the Progressive party is here to stay and grow.

Win, lose or draw, the Negro people are in closer partnership with the Progresive party than with any other mass political party in America.

The Progressive party takes up where Old Abe left off.

Governor Dewey

(Continued from page 298)

Amendments, many significant and far-reaching steps in our elevation from second to first class citizenship have been achieved in recent years because of the general guarantee of protection and equality contained in these Amendments and made a part of our organic law by the Republicans.

The right to employment in areas where unions have a monopoly on the labor supply and discriminate on the basis of race (James vs. Marinship Corp. 1944); the right to picket for jobs (New Negro Alliance vs. Sanitary Grocery Co. 1938); protection of seniority rights in employment (Steele vs. L. & N. R. S. Co. 1944 and Tunstall vs. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen 1944); provision for graduate and professional training in states following a pattern of segregation (Gaines vs. Canady 1938); and the Sipuel Case in Oklahoma 1948; equalization of teachers salaries (Alston vs. School Board of City of Norfolk in 1940); fairness in the selection of juries (Smith vs. Texas 1940); exclusion from evidence of confessions obtained by the torture chamber process (Chambers vs. Florida 1940); elimination of discrimination in transportation facilities (Mitchell vs. Chicago, R. I. & P. Ry. 1941); and Morgan vs. Commonwealth of Virginia 1946); the right to vote in so-called "white primaries" (Smith vs. Allwright 1944); the prohibition of court enforcement of restrictive covenants based on race (Shelley vs. Kraemer and McGee vs. Sipee, 1948 and Hurd vs. Hodge and Urchiolo vs. Hodge 1948); have all been realized because of the guarantees contained in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. These Amendments, unlike the American dollar are worth as much (if not more) to us today as they were over three quarters of a century ago.

Supreme Court

The United States Supreme Court in deciding the recent restrictive covenant cases, in addition to the Fourteenth Amendment, relied upon two sections of the Civil Rights Statutes (expressly guaranteeing a colored person the same rights to property as that enjoyed by any white person) passed by the Republicans.

When Negro apologists for the New Deal Administration talk about the "liberalism" of that Administration, it is worthwhile to cite the Democratic party's record from 1930 through 1946 as the best possible refutation of any claims it may make to being the party of liberalism. During all of that period it had substantial majorities in both Houses of Congress, and during a very considerable part of that period it had a two-thirds majority in the Senate–in other words, sufficient votes to put an end to any filibuster. But it produced nothing tangible to support its professions of devotion to the cause of civil liberties.

Some weeks ago Mr. Truman sent to Congress a message in which he urged the enactment into law of recommendations submitted by his committee on civil rights. Many of those recommendations are duplicates of proposals which Republican members of Congress have been seeking to enact into law for years.

It may be asked, in view of Mr. Truman's rather belated interest in this subject, why such a report was not made and acted upon during the sixteen years in which Democrat administrations had control of Congress. Mr. Truman was a member of the Senate from 1934 to 1945. On August 25, 1942, with the armed forces mobilized and preparing invasions from Great Britain and Guadalcanal, Congress was preparing to provide special facilities for the men in uniform to vote.

Senator Brooks (R. Ill.) projected the civil rights issue when he proposed an amendment to exempt those in the services from paying state poll-taxes as a requirement for voting.

Only civil rights for those in uniform were involved. And on this unique occasion–the only time that the Senate ever voted directly on that question: SENATOR TRUMAN VOTED "NAY"; SENATOR BARKLEY VOTED "NAY."

Both of these "vetoes" were overriden, and the Brooks amendment passed.

Platforms. The four basic civil rights problems referred to in the Republican and Democratic platforms of 1948 are the poll tax, lynching, discrimination in employment and segregation in the armed forces.

The Republican platform in its summary declares that "Constant and effective insistence on the personal dignity of the individual, and his right to complete justice without regard to race, creed or color, is a fundamental American principle.

The Democratic platform declares

that "The Democratic party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

Anti-Poll & Lynching

The Republican platform specifically states that "We favor the abolition of the poll tax as a requisite to voting."

The Democratic platform touches the subject only indirectly with the declaration that "We again state our belief that racial minorities must have the right to vote on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution. *We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental* American principles . . . The right of full and equal participation . . .

The Republican platform comes out boldly with the flat statement that "Lynching or any other form of mob violence anywhere is a disgrace to any civilized state, and we favor the prompt enactment of legislation to end this infamy."

The Democratic platform again skirts the issue with the broad statement that "we again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have . . . the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution," and *"We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental principles* . . . The right of security of persons . . .

Discrimination and Segregation

The Republican platform states unequivocally that the "right of equal opportunity to work and advance in life should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color, or country of origin. We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of the Republic."

The Democrat platform: "We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have . . . the right to work . . . on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution . . . *We call upon Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles* . . . The right to equal opportunity of employment . . ."

The Republican platform: "We are opposed to the ideal of racial segregation in the armed forces of the United States."

The Democratic platform again skirted the issue with the statement that: *"We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles* . . . The right of equal treatment in the services and defense of our Nation."

Notice that in each of the four civil rights problems, the Democrats call upon the Congress to support the President in guaranteeing basic and fundamental American principles. It would be more accurate to call upon the southern Democrats to cease and desist from blocking by their filibusters the Republican efforts to legislate civil rights measures.

Governor Dewey's personal record is studded with accomplishments from his "gang busting days" as special United States district attorney through his six years as governor of New York.

Thomas E. Dewey is no new-found friend to minorities. His deeds are and have been in full accord with his professions. No governor in the whole United States has given more proof of his fidelity to the principles for which he has stood. The record of his achievements in so many directions has won the admiration and the respect of fair-minded citizens throughout the country.

For the performance of the extraordinarily important duties which have been confided to him he has not hesitated to call upon colored Americans for service. Job-giving is not, of itself, ordinarily a test of sincerity in administration. It is, however, in the case of Thomas E. Dewey who has appointed men and women, not on account of their color, but solely on the basis of proved ability and efficiency. His appointments of colored persons have been far removed from the usual type of token recognition. The number of Negroes employed by the state have increased over fourfold and range for the first time, from a judge of the City of New York at $17,500 a year to maintenance jobs. In all some thirty members of boards, commissions, and agencies paying over $4,000 per year are now in the hands of our people. Mrs. Bertha J. Diggs was appointed Secretary of the Department of Labor, with more than 2,000 employees subordinate to her, at a salary of $7,700. Mrs. Diggs is the only woman secretary of labor in the United States.

Even though Mr. Dewey realized that a Republican congressman had very little chance of election in Harlem he ordered a redistricting of the state so that Harlem got its first Negro congressman and first Race control of its second district since reconstruction.

Examples of his sincere interest in colored peoples:

While Democratic Congresses were sniping at and killing the Fair Employment Practices Committee, Governor Dewey set about having the New York General Assembly pass a fair employment practices bill, making the opportunity for employment a civil right.

Job Discrimination

He recognized job-discrimination as a far more fundamental and insidious handicap to colored workers and other minorities than any other. He also recognized that if a person is automatically barred from making the fullest use of his talents solely because of racial or national origin or religious affiliation, he can never hope to make his best contribution to the development of the nation. In other words, he is denied equal opportunity to which he is entitled. The New York FEPC is working. The Commission has not had to resort to the courts for enforcement of its orders in a single case.

In his annual report, Governor Dewey confesses his own pride in having had the opportunity of signing it as an Act "which gives living reality to the great principles upon which the United States was founded." Continuing, he said: "Every one of our citizens will be happy to live in a State which has proudly proclaimed that no man shall be deprived of the right to earn his bread by reason of his race, his religion, or his national origin. This is simple justice."

Seven states now have state FEPC laws: New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Indiana and Oregon. All with Republican governors and Republican legislatures.

When the perilous housing situation arose, Governor Dewey saw to it that rent controls in his state should continue so as to prevent cruel injustices and oppressions. This was done while the Democratic national administration stood by complacently helpless. What this action meant to thousands and thousands of persons of the lower income brackets in New York City, mainly colored residents, can be imagined.

In August, Governor Dewey signed a history-making bill creating a state university system which bans discrimination on account of race, color, or creed in the admission of students, thus doing away with the quota system. He further appointed a Negro as trustee of this new university system.

On the basis of the record of nearly one hundred years, the Republican party is the one party which has made sincere and effective effort on behalf of civil liberties and individual freedom. The Party offers that record as a guarantee of performance in the future.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

W. Harold Flowers
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephone: 919

J. R. Booker
Century Building, Little Rock
Telephone: 2-4248

CALIFORNIA

Geo. R. Vaughns
1027 Adeline St., Oakland 7
Telephone: TWinoaks 9688

Mathews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews — David W. Williams
2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 1-9739—ADams 1-6712

James T. Phillips
33 W. Mountain St., Pasadena 3
Telephone: Sycamore 7-4124

John C. Henderson
1557 — 7th St., Oakland 7
Telephone: TWinoaks 5338

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36 Park Row, Stamford
Telephone: Stamford 3-7037

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Telephone: Lamar 4710

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Ellis & Westbrooks
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Telephone: CALumet 4968—4969

William Henry Huff
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Telephone: OAK 6749

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Telephone: Jackson 6646 & Wabash 4765

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Telephone: Terrace 2-1934

Chas. R. A. Smith
1003 Lawyer's Bldg.
139 Cadillac Sq., Detroit 26
Telephone: Cadillac 2176

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Ave., Grand Rapids 2
Telephone: 8-9042 or 8-6795

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Telephone: MArket 3-4709

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Telephone: MArket 3-1779

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Telephone: WAdsworth 6-9207
and
84 Altona, St. Thomas
Charlotte Amalie,
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2270 East 55th St., Cleveland 3
Telephone: EXpress 3712-3713

William H. Brooks
120 Hamilton Ave., Columbus 3

Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland 14
Telephone: MAin 1320

Chester K. Gillespie
406 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 14
Telephone: CHerry 1835

Artee Fleming
22 W. Market St., Akron 8
Telephone: HEmlock 6946

PENNSYLVANIA

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908 Walnut St., Philadelphia 7
Telephone: Walnut 2-1042

Theodore Spaulding
154 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2
Telephone: LOcust 1317

TEXAS

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711 Prairie Ave., Houston 2
Office: F4895; Home: F0853

VIRGINIA

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Crown Bank Bldg.
Newport News
Telephone: 5-1974

L. Marian Poe
548—25th St., Newport News
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Reuben E. Lawson
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Telephone: 9751

Willmer F. Dillard
330 Gilmer Ave., N. W.
Roanoke 17
Telephone: 2-2608

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133 Harrison St., Petersburg
Telephone 653

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Christiansted, St. Croix, V. I.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946

Of The Crisis, published monthly at New York, for October 1, 1948, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James W. Ivy, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of The Crisis and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 20 West 40th St.; Editor, Roy Wilkins, 20 West 40th St.; Managing Editor, James W. Ivy, 20 West 40th St.; Business Manager, Roy Wilkins, 20 West 40th St.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 20 West 40th St.; Dr. Louis T. Wright, President; 20 West 40th St.; Mrs. E. R. Alexander, Treasurer, 20 West 40th St. All stock owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and condition under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

JAMES W. IVY.
Managing Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 8th day of September, 1948.

(SEAL) FRANKLIN HALL WILLIAMS.
(My commission expires January 21, 1949.)

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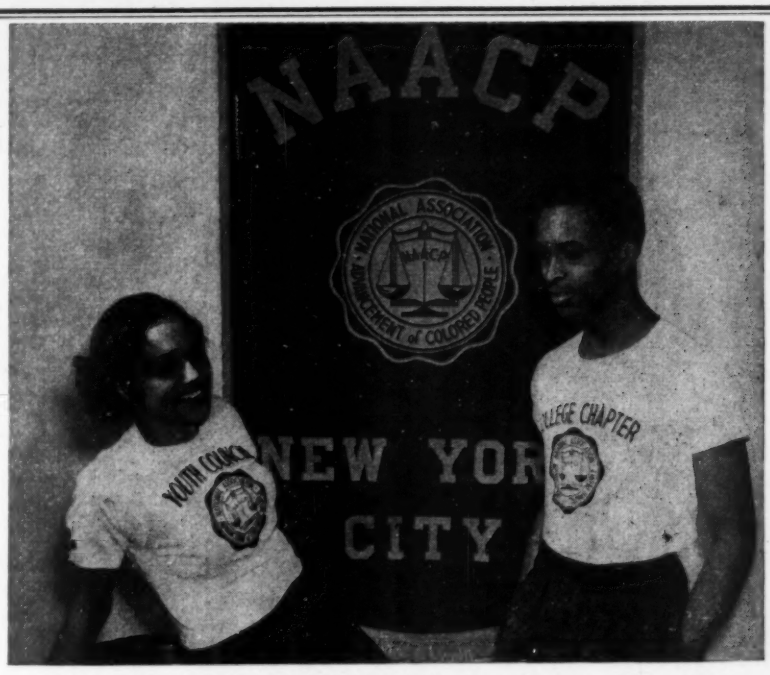

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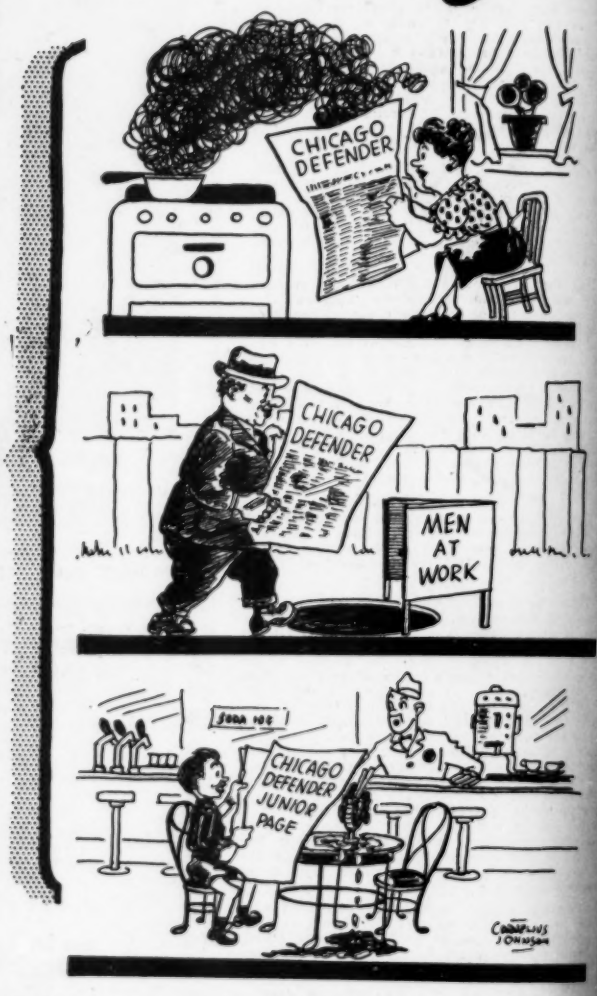

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